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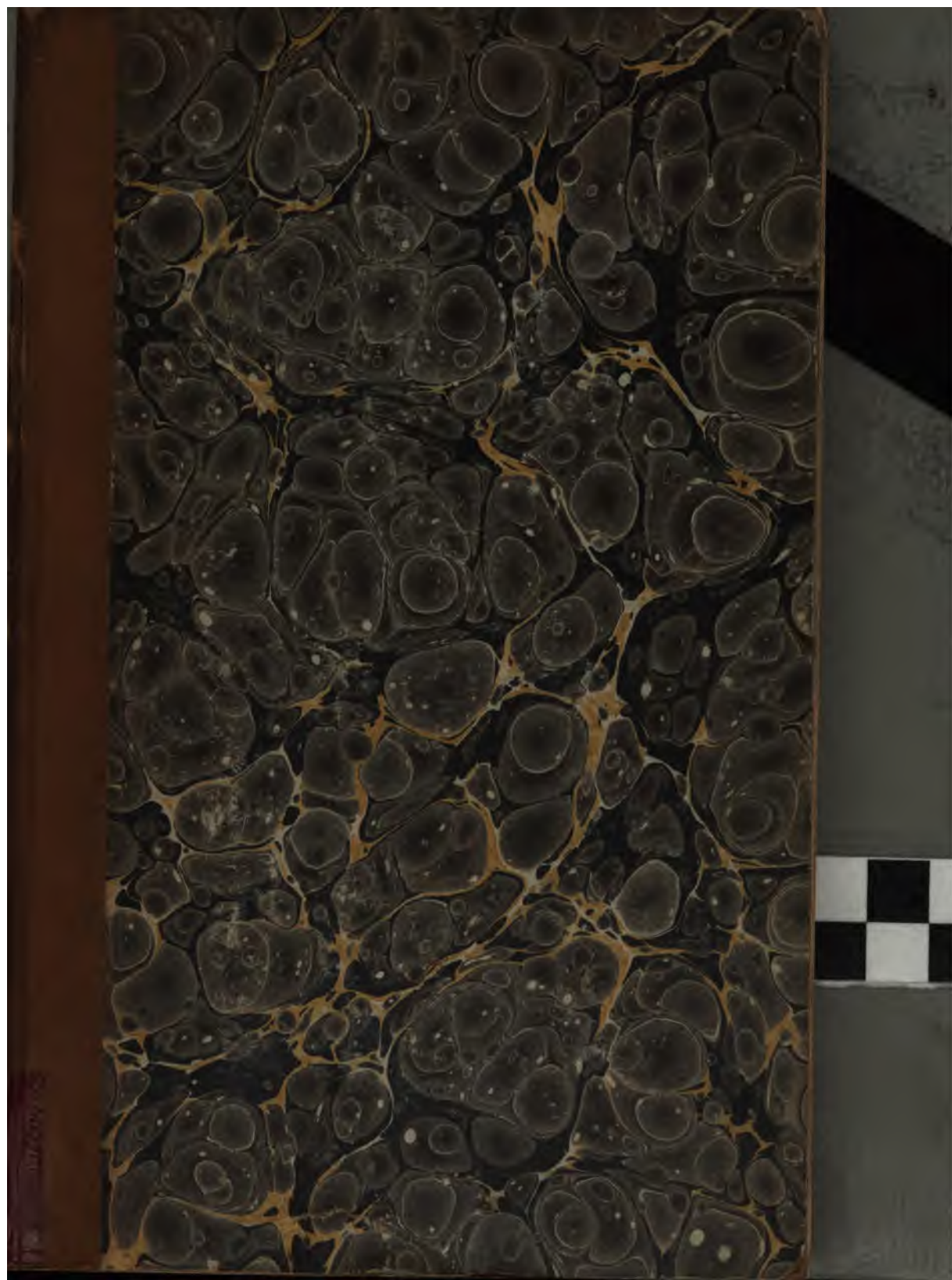
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THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM

versus

CENTRALIZATION.

Second Edition.

BY

F. W. KNIGHT, Esq. M.P.

(LATE SECRETARY TO THE POOR LAW BOARD.)

London:

SHAW AND SONS, FETTER LANE,
PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS OF THE BOOKS AND FORMS OF THE
POOR LAW BOARD.

1854.

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PART I.

STATISTICS OF

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TO THE

RT. HON. MATTHEW TALBOT BAINES, M.P.

PRESIDENT OF THE POOR LAW BOARD,

&c., &c., &c.

SIR,—During the short time that I had the honour of holding the office of Secretary to the Poor Law Board, my attention was directed to the subject of the settlement and removal of the poor, as involving the most important question of the office. Having made a long and careful investigation of the reports and other documents which bear upon those subjects, I have now the honour of presenting the result of it to the Poor Law Board. My own views have been considerably changed by the study I have given to the subject. When I commenced, I believed that settlement was productive of hardship to the poor, and consequently that it ought to be abolished; and though I felt strongly the danger of substituting any system which must produce a centralized administration of local affairs for our free parochial institu-

tions, I found some difficulty in reconciling their maintenance with the abolition of the evils of clearances, &c., which I was led to believe were consequent on them. I am now convinced that the data on which I had formed my opinions have no substantial basis.

THE RESULTS AT WHICH I HAVE ARRIVED FROM A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THE REPORTS ON THIS SUBJECT ARE,—

- 1st. That the assertion, that any general system of pulling down houses, and driving out labourers, in what are called close parishes, has been shown by these reports to exist, or to have existed in England during the last fifty years, is the reverse of the fact (see page 41).
- 2nd. That the assertion, that what are called "close parishes" have been enriched at the expense of the open ones in their neighbourhood, is the reverse of the fact (see page 43).
- 3rd. That a very great equalization of the burden of the poor's rate, throughout the country, is taking place, and has taken place since the close of the French war; and that the assertion, that the burden of maintaining the poor has been shifted from the close to the open parishes, is the reverse of the fact (see page 45).
- 4th. That the assertion, that certain town districts contain an undue and increasing proportion of agricultural labourers, is the reverse of the fact (see page 51).
- 5th. That the assertion, that the unequal distribution of the dwellings of the poor has been produced by the smallness of the areas of chargeability (parishes), is the reverse of the fact (see page 52).

6th. That the assertion, that any "inequality" in the burden of the poor rates on different parishes is "unfair," is the reverse of the fact (see page 55).

7th. That the assertion, that the people of England are, by the operation of the present law, confined to their parishes, is the reverse of the fact (see page 59).

In fine, that no tangible evil has been proved to result from the parochial system; and that the abolition of settlement, or of removal, which amounts to the same thing, would act with unmitigated harshness towards the labouring class.

If it be objected that I have not sufficient grounds for these sweeping conclusions, I must answer that they are based upon the only evidence that is before the country—the evidence on which parliament is called upon to legislate.

The following are the chief works on these subjects which I have examined :—

The Reports of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Settlement and Poor Removal in 1847; also the following Reports to the Poor Law Board on the Laws of Settlement and Removal :—

- 1st. Of G. A. a'Beckett, Esq., on the operation of those laws in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex, and in the Reading Union in Berkshire.
- 2nd. Of Captain Robinson, R. N., on the counties of Surrey and Sussex.
- 3rd. Of John Revans, Esq., on Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Somersetshire.
- 4th. Of Francis Howell, Esq., on the county of Nottingham.

5th. Of Robert Weale, Esq., on the county of Bedford.

6th. Of Grenville Pigott, Esq., on the counties of Berks, Buckingham, and Oxford.

7th. Of W. H. T. Hawley, Esq., on the county of Northumberland.

These are Reports of Tours of Inspection in the Summer of 1848, and were presented shortly afterwards to the Poor Law Board—they were published in 1850.

8th. Of George Coode, Esq., who visited at the same time, in 1848, the counties of Leicester, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

9th. Of Robert Weale, Esq., on the county of Huntingdon.

10th. Of W. H. T. Hawley, Esq., on the North Riding of Yorkshire.

The two last are reports of tours of inspection made in 1850.

These three reports were published in 1851.

In one class of these reports, among which Mr. Weale's hold a prominent place, a great number of parishes are pointed out by name as open or close. These reports are very valuable, as they furnish the only existing data for inquiring into the subject of close and open parishes. A second class, among which Mr. Revans's report is prominent, is chiefly composed of recapitulations of various statements made by discontented persons at different boards of guardians that had been visited. In these reports many complaints are made, and many hardships enlarged on; but the names of the parishes concerned are so strangely omitted, that it is wholly impossible to test the accuracy of any of them. Such reports

are worse than useless. The third and last class consists of Mr. Coode's essay, in which the whole of the arguments are summed up, and which may be considered as the climax of the commission. My attention was also directed to several other parliamentary reports, and to a work on the poor laws published by R. Pashley, Esq., in 1852.

Rating.

I have adopted the property-tax assessment of the annual value of real property in each parish as the basis of all my calculations. It is the only valuation which is based on the actual rental of real property throughout the country.

A glance at the account of the Colchester Union, at page 23, will show how completely fallacious any calculations must be which are based on rates in the pound, reckoned on the present parochial assessments.

I was first induced to make the property-tax assessment the basis of my calculations from the perusal of Mr. Weale's valuable reports. I afterwards discovered that I have repeated parliamentary precedents for it. Almost every return printed by order of parliament since the Peace, has given the property-tax assessment of 1815 as the nearest guide to the true value of the parishes, except an analysis of the poor rates of 1847, where the parochial assessments are for the first time introduced. An elaborate return on parochial rating was published by order of the House of Commons in 1818. It contains a very perfect account of the whole parochial rates expended in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, every different head of expenditure in every parish being separately treated of.

The compilers of it totally disregard all parochial assessments, and compare the sums raised by the poor rates, and expended for various purposes in the different parishes, with

the annual value of real property in each parish or place, as assessed to the property tax under schedule (A.), for the year ending April 5th, 1815, "*In order*," says the report, "*that information might be obtained of the proportion which the sums levied by the poor rates, and any other rate or rates, bear to the actual rents and profits upon which such rates are imposed and levied.*" We have here a distinct assessment of the annual value of real property in every parish in England and Wales, in 1815, on a uniform basis, as well as the exact cost of maintaining the poor of each parish in that year.

A similar return of the annual value of real property in every parish, for the year ending April, 1843, was published by order of the House of Commons in 1845. I have adopted it in like manner as a uniform assessment, and applied it as such to a return of the expenditure of each parish for the relief of the poor in the year ending April, 1847, published by order of the House of Commons in September, 1848. By adopting these valuations, I have taken the only course open to me of obtaining anything like equal assessments of the country.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the expenditure for the relief of the poor in these two years was very nearly equal,—

Being, in 1815... .. £5,418,846

in 1847... .. 5,298,787

Difference only... .. £120,059

so that a comparison of these two years shows how a similar amount of rates was divided among the various parishes at an interval of 32 years. It enables us to see distinctly the

changes that have occurred during that period in the distribution of the burden, and to ascertain what class or classes of parishes have derived most advantage from any "shifting of the burden" that may have taken place. By comparing the annual value of each parish under consideration in 1815 and 1843 with the increase of its population, we ascertain how far the increase of wealth in this country has been coincident with that increase.

Evidence before the Settlement Committee of 1847.

This evidence is worthy of much attention. Its principal feature consists in a great effort that was made by a number of gentlemen, in the employment of the Poor Law Commission, to make out a case for the abolition of our long-cherished system of free parochial self-government.

In order to effect this, it was necessary to show that some great practical evils had been occasioned by it. To this end these witnesses applied themselves. The chief point of attack, skilfully chosen, was the unequal pressure of the poor rates on different parishes. The war-cry, constantly reiterated, was the destruction of cottages, depopulation of parishes, and shifting of the burden of the poor rates, caused by the "*close parish system*," a "*modern phrase*" (says Mr. Coode), hardly known to fame until it figured in these examinations. Witness after witness was examined, who reiterated the same tale. Strange to say it was, with one or two exceptions, impossible to elicit on cross-examination the name of a single parish in which these demolitions and wholesale evictions had taken place. It could indeed scarcely be shown that, until the passing in the previous year of the Act making persons irremovable after five years' residence, the poor rates could have been much relieved by such a process.

Messrs. Chadwick, Gulson, Tuffnell, Pigott, Hotson, Simkiss, and J. M. White (afterwards followed by the writers of the reports under consideration), all gentlemen attached in different grades to the central authority of the Poor Law Commission, joined in the onslaught against the parochial system, with the power and facility, which their position gave them, of choosing out of the whole of England those additional witnesses whose opinions would best support their views. But among this mass of official witnesses,—of men who had passed many of the best years of their lives in the actual superintendence of poor law administration in the different districts of England, each of whom must have had the minutest circumstances of many hundreds of parishes at his fingers' ends,—how was it that not one, with the exception of Mr. Chadwick (see Result, p. 51), gave any direct evidence of these depopulations and shiftings of the burden of the poor, on which their whole case against the parochial system was based? It was a simple matter of figures. Returns, books, clerks, the paid poor-law officials throughout the country,—all the advantages that in matters of statistics give those in office so preponderating an advantage over their opponents were theirs. It was a simple matter of figures. Why did not these gentlemen give in statements of the number of close and open parishes in their respective districts? Why did they not then show the numbers of houses and population existing in those parishes, at several of the decennial periods that are recorded in the census? Is it possible that not one of them should have thought of clearing up a simple arithmetical question by producing the figures? “Cottages have been pulled down, people have been driven out,” was the cry. “Do you know this to be a fact?” was asked in cross-examination. “Name the parishes.” “I have heard it stated at boards of guardians, and I believe it,” was the answer. Two

gentlemen, high in the confidence of the Poor Law Board, Messrs. W. G. Lumley, the assistant secretary, and R. Hall, the metropolitan inspector, took a contrary view of the subject. Mr. Hall, when examined on the subject of the destruction of cottages in close parishes, answered (6729), "I cannot say that I know of any pulling down of cottages, or leaving them unrepaired to fall down, within my own experience; but I have no doubt that there are parishes in my district in which no cottages are built." This gentleman has been attached to the Poor Law Commission for many years, and his experience is certainly second to that of no other man living.

Mr. Hall was not satisfied with giving *his opinion* on a subject of so much importance. He prepared, soon after, a categorical answer to the inquiry, in the form of an account of the close and open parishes in the 44 unions comprised in his district. This valuable paper, which is the only *bonâ fide* evidence produced before this committee on the increase or diminution of cottages, in what are called close parishes, occupies pages 39 and 40 of the Appendix to the 7th and 8th Reports. From thence I have extracted it, and give it at full length in *Appendix (A.)*

It appears that, of these 44 unions (consisting of 576 parishes), 24 contained no close parish. In the other 20 unions, 76 close parishes were to be found. The increase of houses in these 76 close parishes, between 1831 and 1841, was 416, or 11 per cent. The increase of population was 1,302, or only 9 per cent. In only 6, out of the whole 76, had cottages decreased during those 10 years.

It is difficult to imagine a reason why the witnesses on the other side did not support their assertions by similar tables, if they had been capable of bearing the test of examination.

It appears that the evidence on the subject of this "close parish system," was not satisfactory to the committee. They passed several resolutions, which would have been quite intelligible had the existence of any extensive system of clearances been proved, and shown to have been caused by parochial chargeability. The committee, however, manifested their doubts of the soundness of the evidence (utterly unsupported by facts) that had been pressed upon them during the investigation, by deciding *that they would not report those resolutions to the House of Commons*. That the chairman (the late Mr. C. Buller) thought the evidence on this subject extremely unsatisfactory is shown by his having appointed, shortly afterwards, the commission, whose reports are the chief subject of this examination. Mr. Weale tells us that, in a long conversation he had with him in the following summer, Mr. Buller thus described his reasons for making these inquiries, in which he requested Mr. Weale to take a part:—

"He (Mr. Buller) dwelt particularly on the 'outcry' raised of hardships inflicted by a practice, existing amongst what are called the close parishes, of pulling down cottages, or neglecting to provide a number of them sufficient for the accommodation of the labourers, requisite properly to cultivate those parishes, and of thus throwing on the open parishes the burden of maintaining their poor; and he expressed a desire of obtaining some more clear and definite evidence on this point than was adduced before the Settlement Committee of the House of Commons, over which he presided. On this occasion I expressed an opinion I had formed, from the remarks I was constantly in the habit of hearing made,—that the hardships complained of by the ratepayers of open parishes were not without foundation; but that I was not prepared to show to what extent they really existed, or in what localities; and he then informed me,

“ that he had sent into several counties gentlemen to inquire
 “ into this subject, and generally into the law of settlement.
 “ In travelling through different parts of my district, I was
 “ made acquainted with various statements that had been
 “ made to some of these gentlemen; and, in a subsequent
 “ conversation with the President, I expressed to him my
 “ opinion *that it was desirable to obtain even more defined and*
 “ *specific information than could be obtained from the represen-*
 “ *tations made to the gentlemen, by individuals often interested,*
 “ *and who too frequently took their impressions from very im-*
 “ *perfect data,* and submitted for his consideration the form
 “ of table accompanying this report, and suggested that from
 “ the results it would exhibit, on an inquiry extending over a
 “ whole county, his judgment would be materially assisted.
 “ In this he coincided with me, and requested me to take the
 “ county of Bedford (in which there are a considerable num-
 “ ber of close parishes), and obtain from every parish the
 “ information indicated by the form of table I submitted to
 “ him.”

This passage is valuable, first, as showing the small estimation in which Mr. Buller held the evidence on this subject given before the committee of 1847; and secondly, as giving an account of the origin of Mr. Weale's admirable reports on the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon, both of which, I submit, distinctly disprove the whole case attempted to be made out against the continuance of the parochial system.

It will be found, on examining the reports, that the doubts expressed by Mr. Weale, as to the value of the information contained in them, were well founded.

Reports on Settlement and Removal.

In entering into a statistical examination of these Reports we must dismiss from our minds everything we are not given an opportunity of testing. We can put little value on the complaints of Mr. A. the chairman, Mr. B. the clerk, or Mr. C. the relieving officer, unless they give us the names of the parishes complained of and complaining; all indefinite charges which cannot be looked into must be taken for what they are worth. It was to test the accuracy of such "outcry," and not to write down and reproduce it, that Mr. Buller appointed this commission.

In the First Annual Report of the Poor Law Board for 1848, we are told that the writers of these reports were instructed "that the inquiry should be prosecuted in districts, differing widely as regards the size of the parishes, the number and density of the population, and the nature of their employment." It is to be regretted that their instructions were not rather to investigate the state of every parish in some whole counties or districts. The only two gentlemen who adopted this plan in the first set of reports, viz. Mr. Weale, in his report on Bedfordshire, and Mr. Hawley, in his on Northumberland, wholly failed in making out any case against the close parishes, although each of those counties contain an unusual number of parishes in the hands of a limited number of proprietors.

The system of selecting particular parishes from particular unions, and omitting the others, necessarily conveys the idea of "*making a case*," and leads one to suspect that, had the wider area of the county, or even of whole unions, been adopted, the result would have led, if possible, to a more complete exposure of the fallacious nature of the "outcry," than can be drawn from these selected parishes.

In entering into the statistics of these parishes, I am not, therefore, investigating the condition of an average district of England—I am meeting, on ground of their own choosing, the strongest cases which time, experience, and close examination has enabled these gentlemen to bring forward in support of their views.

The plan I have adopted has been to extract from the reports, and place on one list, every parish that is described as being close, and thereby inflicting injury on its neighbours; and, on a second list, all the parishes described as being open, or as suffering from an excess of population or an undue amount of poor rates, produced by what are called the close parishes in their vicinity. I have not intentionally omitted any of which the statistics are perfect.

The progress of this country, during the period we are considering, has perhaps been rarely equalled, and it must not be supposed that these so-called close parishes have not contributed their full quota to the great objects of feeding and employing the people of England. Mr. Coode tells us, at page 157 of his report—

“As a fact, the majority of close parishes are the best cultivated, and pay the highest wages in their respective districts.”

It is well known that property in the neighbourhood of towns attains far more than its intrinsic value; but until these reports were published, there existed no data from which it could be shown how widely this principle extends itself, and how it affects the value of “open” and “close” agricultural parishes,—in other words, of parishes containing a large or a scanty population. It will be shown that in this country a resident labouring population is a source of absolute and actual riches to the parish in which it resides, far exceeding any burden it may entail upon it.

In the ensuing calculations,—

The value of real property assessed to the property tax in the year ending April, 1815, and the amount paid for the relief of the poor in 1815, are from a return published by order of the House of Commons in March, 1818.

The value of real property assessed to the property tax in the year ending April, 1843, is taken from a return printed by order of the House of Commons in March, 1845.

The amounts paid for the relief of the poor in 1847 are taken from a return printed by order of the House of Commons in September, 1848.

The population and inhabited houses are taken from the census of 1801 and that of 1851.

The rates in the pound are calculated on the annual value of real property, as assessed to the property tax in April, 1815, and April, 1843.

The parishes that I have taken as open and close in the ensuing tables, are those on which the case of the commissioners rests. I am not responsible for the number of proprietors, or any other facts concerning them, further than that they appear in the reports to be those on which the case of open and close parishes, or of one set of parishes throwing an undue burden on other parishes, is based.

MR. a'BECKETT'S REPORT.

The first report is that of Mr. G. A. a'Beckett, who visited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex, and the Reading Union in Berkshire. These counties contain about 76 unions or parts of unions, which comprise 1,863 parishes. Mr. a'Beckett selected for his inspection 22 unions, comprising 505 parishes. Of these he has selected and named in the report, as open or close, certain parishes, into the statistics of which I shall proceed to examine.

The unions visited by Mr. a'Beckett may be divided into two classes;—the first containing 16 unions, chiefly agricultural; the second containing 6 large town unions, in several of which the parishes are already united by local Acts for settlement and rating.

The 16 rural unions are, 6 of them in Suffolk, 5 in Norfolk, and 5 in Essex. I find in the pages of the report 40 parishes pointed out as being open, and 51 as being close.

A summary of the statistics of which shows the following results :—

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value in 28 Years.	Paid for relief of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure.		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
pen Parishes	4,937	8,723	9,365	26,407	42,320	44,426	£ 121,794	£ 189,906	£ 68,202	£ 18,512	£ 19,283	s. d. 3 0½	s. d. 2 0½	s. d. 1 0½
lose ditto ..	735	1,344	1,420	5,464	7,278	7,462	60,084	72,906	3,822	5,840	4,100	1 8½	1 1½	0 6½
pen Parishes lose ditto ..	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Popula- tion in 50 Years.			Increase of Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in 28 Years—1815 to 1843.					Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes.	Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes.	Excess of Red- uction in Open Parishes.
	90 per cent. 93 ditto.			68 per cent. 37 ditto.			56 per cent. 5 ditto.					s. d. 1 4½	s. d. 0 10½	s. d. 0 5½

Particulars of these parishes in Appendix (B.)

At the census of 1851, house accommodation had been provided in the 40 open parishes for 5,665, and in the 51 close parishes for 3,095 more persons than were actually residing in them, allowing the same number of occupants per house as in 1801.

TOWN UNIONS, BURY ST. EDMUND'S.

Mr. a'Beckett says—"I proceeded in the first place to Bury St. Edmund's, which is a union of itself, consisting of the two parishes comprised in the town, and is entirely surrounded by the Thingoe Union, which is purely agricultural. I found it to be a subject of much complaint in Bury, that the want of cottage accommodation in the adjoining parishes forces into the town a great number of agricultural labourers and their families."

* * * * *

The names of six of the offending close parishes are mentioned, but the statistics of them given below do not bear out the information received by Mr. a'Beckett.

Bury St. Edmund's, two town parishes. Thingoe Union, six close parishes.	Inhabited Houses.			Population.			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax.		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Relief of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure.		Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure.	
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£		£	£	s. d.	s. d.		
	1,800	2,519	2,752	7,055	12,538	18,941	18,036	54,019	41,898	£	4,404	4,086	s. d. 0 10½	s. d. 1 9½	s. d. 0
	130	287	304	1,112	1,453	1,525	10,219	11,553	1,334	1,058	996		s. d. 2 0½	s. d. 1 7½	s. d. 0
Two town parishes..... Six close do.	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase of Annual Value of Real Property in 28 Years.				Excess paid by Town Parishes.		Excess paid by Town Parishes.		Excess of Real Value.
											s. d.		s. d.		
	102 per cent. 124 per cent.			82 per cent. 37 per cent.			392 per cent. 18 per cent.				4 9½		0 2½		

The following figures afford a good answer to any complaints the ratepayers of Bury St. Edmund's may make:—

Money expended in Bury St. Edmund's for maintenance of the Poor.

1813	£7,148	1848	£5,552
1814	6,278	1849	6,449
1815	4,464	1850	5,132
		1851	4,944

3 years' average £5,963

4 years' average £5,519

Amounting to 9s. 2d. in the pound on real value in 1815.

Amounting to 2s. in the pound on real value in 1843.

COLCHESTER UNION.

I shall proceed to extract Mr. a'Beckett's description of the state of some parishes of this union, and show how little dependence can be placed on any complaints of hardship founded on the present system of *parochial rating*, and how necessary it is to have some means of comparing the actual value of the parishes with the amount of rates paid by them. Mr. a'Beckett says—

“ This union, though consisting chiefly of town parishes, comprises within itself some samples of nearly all the grievances and abuses arising out of settlement and rating, which seem more naturally to belong to districts that are purely agricultural. Unlike Norwich, Bury St. Edmund's, Yarmouth, and other large towns which are united for the purposes of rating and settlement, and where therefore there is no cause for internal jealousy or disagreement, the town of Colchester is divided into 16 parishes, all rated separately for the relief of their own poor, and presenting in the distribution of the burden inequalities as great as are to be met with in comparing the close with the open parishes of an agricultural union.

“ The parish of St. Leonard, which was rated in 1847 at 9s. 10d. in the pound on the whole year, is the very poorest in the town, its inhabitants having been reduced to extreme poverty by the loss of the carrying-trade, in consequence of the opening of the railway. Its population was 1,119, according to the last returns in 1841; and I was assured by Mr. Clement Spurgeon, the collector for the district, that there is only one person who can be considered well off in the whole of the parish. These poor people, who are paying, or trying to pay, 9s. 10d. in the pound, are naturally dissatisfied when they see that in the opulent parish of All Saints, inhabited chiefly by persons retired from business, and generally in affluent circumstances, the demand for poor rate is only 2s. 4d. in the pound, or less than one-fourth of the amount asked for from the poverty-stricken parish of St. Leonard's.

“ The parish of St. James, though not so heavily burdened as St. Leonard's,—the rates of the former having been 7s. 8d., and of the latter 9s. 10d. in the pound,—has, by a memorial, signed by the rector, churchwardens, overseers, and others,

“ suggested to the board of guardians the propriety of uniting
 “ all the 16 parishes of Colchester into one, for the purpose
 “ of rating and settlement.

“ The churchwardens and overseers of St. Botolph have also,
 “ in a memorial addressed to the Select Committee of the House
 “ of Commons on Settlement, dated March, 1847, pointed out
 “ the hardship inflicted on this parish by the crowds of poor
 “ inhabitants who give the profit of their labour to the best
 “ and most valuable parts of the town, where there are no
 “ dwellings for the working classes ; and in case of sickness
 “ or distress, they consequently become chargeable to the im-
 “ poverished parishes into which they are driven for residence.
 “ The churchwardens and overseers of the parish of St. Giles
 “ have, by a memorial dated the 31st March, 1847, and ad-
 “ dressed to the Parliamentary Committee on Settlement,
 “ complained of similar grievances.

“ There are two or three parishes adjacent, namely, Bere-
 “ church, All Saints, and others, that are almost without poor,
 “ in consequence of their being without cottages for the
 “ labourers. Several of the men employed sleep in the town,
 “ and thus, though these parishes have had all the benefit of
 “ the men’s labour, directly they become chargeable from any
 “ cause, either temporary or permanent, they are a burden on
 “ some of the town parishes of Colchester. This system of
 “ preventing labourers from residing in the parishes where
 “ they work arises a great deal, though not perhaps to a
 “ great extent in this neighbourhood, from the desire of the
 “ employers to spare their own pockets from being called
 “ upon to contribute to the rates ; and the result is not only
 “ unfair to the ratepayers of other parishes, but very injurious
 “ to the poor themselves, who have to pay much higher for
 “ town than they would for country dwellings.”

One would almost expect the parish of St. Leonard to vie
 in desolation with the ruins of Babylon. Mr. a’Beckett has,
 however, named his parishes, and I shall proceed to apply the
 property test, which will show that Mr. a’Beckett has given
 too much weight to the “ outcry ” of some members of the
 board-room.

The following tables will show how little such complaints can be relied on :—

Complaining Parishes.	Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase or Decrease in Annual Value of Real Property between 1815 and 1843.	Parochial Assessment in 1847.	Showing how far the Parochial Assessment of 1847 is above or below the Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 1843.
	1815.	1843.			
	£	£		£	
St. Leonard's	1,396	3,875	an increase of 177 per cent.	1,998	{ 48 per cent. BELOW
St. James's	2,836	5,388 90.....	3,231	{ real value in 1843.
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					{ 14.....
Parishes Complained of.					
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I am induced to devote a separate table to the case between the “poverty-stricken” parish of St. Leonard's, and the “opulent” parish of All Saints, since it is a very remarkable instance of the fallacy of any argument based on existing parochial assessments.

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	Annual Value of Parochial Assessment in 1847.	Expended for the Support of Poor in 1847, according to Mr. a'Beckett.	Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure, calculated on Parochial Assessment.		Apparent Excess in the Pound, paid by St. Leonard's in 1847.	
	£	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
St. Leonard's	1,998	982	9	10	7	6
All Saints...	2,147	250	2	4		

Case as shown by the value of real property assessed to the property tax:—

	Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 1843.	Expended for the Support of Poor in 1847, according to Mr. a'Beckett.	Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure, calculated on 1 st Property Tax Assessment of 1843.	Real Excess in the Pound, paid by St. Leonard's in 1847.
	£	£	s. d.	s. d.
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The facts then are these :—

The annual value of real property in St. Leonard's increased nearly threefold between 1815 and 1843, in consequence of its having become the place of residence of a large and industrious population. To support the aged and infirm of that population, and in consequence of a temporary depression described by Mr. a'Beckett, it had, in 1847, to pay 1s. 5½d. in the pound more than the neighbouring parish of All Saints, which had not shared in the prosperity of St. Leonard's, but had decreased largely in annual value between 1815 and 1843.

IPSWICH UNION.

In his account of this union Mr. a'Beckett reiterates his own strong conviction of the necessity of an extended area of rating, and asserts that it contains some cases of great hardship; but, as he does not name a single one, either of the oppressing or oppressed parishes, it is impossible to examine or to apply the property test to them. A cursory glance at the statistics of the whole union inclines me to suspect, from the rapid increase in the value of several of the parishes, that an investigation of the board-room complaints of this union might lead to results similar to those described in the case of Colchester.

NORWICH.

I shall say more about Norwich when I come to consider the subject of union rating, which was established by a local Act, in the reign of Queen Anne, in the 43 parishes which compose this union. The complaints made by the ratepayers of Norwich, through Mr. a'Beckett, are very contradictory.

They complain:—1st. That population flocks into Norwich; 2nd. Of the settlement laws, which enable them to remove paupers; 3rd. Of the 9th & 10th of Vict. c. 66, which prevents their doing so. They keep in the back ground the fact, that by means of the profitable labour of that population, their annual incomes from real property increased, between April, 1815, and April, 1843 (28 years), from £70,503 to £174,111 per annum.

Mr. a'Beckett says—

“ The case of Norwich is one of those which present, in my opinion, the chief, if not the only, difficulty in coming to a satisfactory adjustment of the questions of rating, removal and settlement. *Scarcely anything short of a national rate would relieve Norwich* from the enormous pressure of the burden of the poor, who amounted last summer to 10,000 in number, out of a population of 60,000, and who are not maintained at a less cost than £50,000 a year to the city, and those closely adjoining parishes which form the union. The vast quantity of poverty existing in Norwich may be attributed in some degree to the decline of the manufactures, by which great numbers of the population have been thrown out of employ; but there can be no doubt that this burden on the city has been greatly augmented by the influx of poor from the agricultural parishes in the immediate neighbourhood. The 9 & 10 Vict. c. 66, has produced a most disastrous effect on the Norwich ratepayers, for it has increased the claims upon them to the extent of £5,000 a year, and the inhabitants of the city are now paying poor rates to the amount of 7s. in the pound on their rack rental.”

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Case as shown by the value of real property assessed to the property tax :—

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	£	£	s. d.	s. d.
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In the ensuing calculations,—

The value of real property assessed to the property tax in the year ending April, 1815, and the amount paid for the relief of the poor in 1815, are from a return published by order of the House of Commons in March, 1818.

The value of real property assessed to the property tax in the year ending April, 1843, is taken from a return printed by order of the House of Commons in March, 1845.

The amounts paid for the relief of the poor in 1847 are taken from a return printed by order of the House of Commons in September, 1848.

The population and inhabited houses are taken from the census of 1801 and that of 1851.

The rates in the pound are calculated on the annual value of real property, as assessed to the property tax in April, 1815, and April, 1843.

The parishes that I have taken as open and close in the ensuing tables, are those on which the case of the commissioners rests. I am not responsible for the number of proprietors, or any other facts concerning them, further than that they appear in the reports to be those on which the case of open and close parishes, or of one set of parishes throwing an undue burden on other parishes, is based.

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£50,000, as here stated. The difference, amounting to £17,612, appears to have been merely an expenditure of board-room "outcry," which it is very difficult to check.

In a volume of poor rate returns, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1830, I find that, in 1827, a year of similar manufacturing distress, the relief of the poor cost Norwich £39,285. Now, by dividing the increase in real property, which took place between 1815 and 1843, proportionally over the whole number of years, we get the annual value of real property in Norwich, in 1827, as about £116,547, paying for the relief of the poor £39,285, or 6s. 11d. in the pound; in 1848, about £174,111,* paying for the relief of the poor £32,388, or 3s. 8½d. in the pound: so that, in spite of the burden thrown on Norwich by the 9 & 10 Vict. c. 66, it seems to have been, in 1848, much more able to bear one of those years of distress to which all manufacturing towns are periodically subject, than it was 20 years previously.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "It has been a subject of very loud complaint in this union that the clearing system has been adopted by large landowners in the neighbourhood, and that, in addition to the settled poor, immense numbers are thrown into the place by the cause already assigned, or are attracted to the city by the chance of casual employment it affords, and the prospect of benefiting by its numerous charities."

Ten close parishes in the Henstead Union are pointed out as being among the parishes alluded to. Their statistics are here given and compared with those of the Norwich Union:—

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual value of real property assessed to the property tax in		Increase in value of real property	Paid for the relief of the Poor in		Rate in the pound of such expenditure in		Reduction of Rate in the pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
43 parishes (Norwich)	8,016	13,948	14,988	36,238	61,846	68,195	£ 70,508	£ 174,111	£ 103,008	£ 16,543	£ 25,381	s. d. 4 8½	s. d. 2 11	s. d. 1 9½
10 close do. (Henstead Union)	141	238	252	850	1,235	1,274	£ 11,810	£ 14,408	£ 3,188	£ 1,101	£ 775	s. d. 1 11½	s. d. 1 0½	s. d. 0 10½
	Increase of houses in 50 years.			Increase of population in 50 years.			Increase in annual value of real property assessed to Property Tax in 28 years.							
43 open parishes	87 per cent.			85 per cent.			147 per cent.							
10 close do.	79 do.			48 do.			28 do.							

* This was the value in 1843, it had probably much increased by 1848, which would again reduce the rate in the pound.

GREAT YARMOUTH.

Great Yarmouth is one of those large town parishes which constitute unions in themselves, and are in fact in all respects similar to the unions proposed to be established under Mr. Baines's bill. It is not surprising to find that the ratepayers are thoroughly dissatisfied, *and loudly demand a national rate*. Mr. a'Beckett says—"The circumstances of Great Yarmouth resemble those of Norwich, though the evils complained of in the latter place exist in a very mitigated degree, but still to a sufficient extent to create great dissatisfaction among the ratepayers."

"At a meeting of the board of guardians of the parish of Great Yarmouth on the 30th of June, 1848, it was resolved unanimously,—

"That the existing laws of settlement and removal, and also the laws relating to the making and levying of poor rates, are unfair, unequal, inexpedient, and indefensible, and ought to be abolished.

"That in the opinion of this board, *a national poor rate is essentially necessary, and ought to be conceded by the legislature*, in justice both to the ratepayers and rate recipients."

The ratepayers of Great Yarmouth, like those of Norwich, complain both of the old laws, which enable them to remove their poor, and of the new, 9 & 10 Vict. c. 66, which partially prevents their so doing. Mr. a'Beckett says that this Act has added about £1,000 a year to the poor rates of Great Yarmouth.

	Inhabited Houses.			Population.			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Relief of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
Great Yarmouth	3,081	5,183	6,006	14,845	24,086	26,880	£ 24,383	£ 64,271	£ 39,888	£ 7,926	£ 8,369	s. d. 6 6	s. d. 2 7½	s. d. 3 10½
Great Yarmouth	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase in Annual Value in 28 Years.							
	95 per cent.			81 per cent.			104 per cent.							

READING UNION.

Mr. a'Beckett's tour of inspection ends at this place. It was here that he at last attained the great object of his search—he at length found a town, in the neighbourhood of which cottages had really been pulled down. It was in quest of some such parishes that Mr. a'Beckett had travelled many a weary mile, and it was therefore natural that he should “visit the sites of the late dwellings himself,” and, as he tells us, “take considerable pains to inquire into the facts” of the case. At the conclusion of eight pages devoted to this subject, he gives us the result in these words:—“From all I heard and saw at Reading, I have not the slightest hesitation in declaring, that the practice of pulling down cottages for the purpose of driving out the agricultural labourers has existed in several parishes;” again, “many of the inhabitants of these formerly existing country cottages have been driven into Reading.”

On looking through the report I find that the parishes in which cottages are said to have been pulled down are four in number. The success which has attended the clearing system will appear from the following table.

The parishes are:—

Parishes.	Inhabited Houses.			Population.		
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.
1. Maple Durham*	99	99	101	452	481	509
2. Caversham....	217	207	325	1,069	1,642	1,752
3. Earley	73	85	92	436	471	487
4. Newland.....	55	54	61	258	276	306
	444	535	579	2,215	2,870	3,054

* In Maple Durham there were only $4\frac{1}{2}$ persons to every house in 1801.

Ditto - ditto - 5 ditto - ditto 1851.

In both cases the population was better housed than the average of England.

So it appears that, in spite of all the efforts of the devastator and depopulator, the inhabited houses in these four parishes have increased in fifty years more than 30 per cent. The report contains a long account of certain labourers who lived in Reading, but belonged to neighbouring close parishes. Since the hardship and expense inflicted on towns by the burden thus thrown upon them by agricultural parishes, as well as the crowded state of the dwellings to which the poor are driven, is one of the key-notes of the whole commission, and is here particularly insisted on, I give the state of the case as between Reading and the seven neighbouring parishes, which are particularly alluded to in the report as those by which Reading is unfairly and injuriously burdened:—

	Inhabited Houses.			Population.			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax.		Increase of Annual Income.	Paid for Relief of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound of such Expenditure in		Total
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1849.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
Reading, 3 Parishes..... 7 Neighbouring Parishes	1,751	3,750	4,297	9,770	19,521	22,175	36,065	75,315	38,650	6,877	5,890	s. d.	s. d.	s.
	776	1,070	1,140	3,958	5,621	5,003	29,523	34,071	4,548	4,305	3,376	2 11½	2 0	(
Reading, 3 Parishes..... 7 Neighbouring Parishes	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase of Annual Value of Real Property in 28 Years.					Excess paid by Open Parishes in 1815.	Excess paid by Close Parishes in 1847.	Excess of
	142 per cent.			100 per cent.			105 per cent.					s. d.	s. d.	s.
	48 "			40 "			15 "					0 9½	0 5½	1

(Particulars in Appendix, p. 88.)

The annual value of the town parishes has more than doubled in twenty-eight years, while their poor's rate in 1847 was actually 24 per cent. less in the pound than that paid by these close parishes.

If it be true that any district which pays a greater rate per pound to the poor than another is wronged by that other district, then these seven parishes are wronged by Reading, and not Reading by the seven parishes.

The case of Reading and its neighbourhood was probably considered as the most favourable one that could be found of a town oppressed by neighbouring close parishes, since it was made the "Cheval de bataille" of Mr. Chadwick in his evidence before Mr. Buller's commission in 1847, and is

brought forward again by Mr. a'Beckett in this report as furnishing the most convincing proofs of the existence of the devastating system, and of all the other evils complained of.

CAPTAIN ROBINSON'S REPORT.

Captain Robinson, of the Royal Navy, visited the counties of Surrey and Sussex. He makes the usual complaints about a deficiency of cottages, &c., and moreover a general statement that cottages had been pulled down in two out of the fourteen unions he visited; but, as no names of parishes are given it is impossible to inquire into the circumstances: no charge can be supported on such general statements.

MR. REVANS' REPORT.

The next report is that of Mr. Revans on Dorsetshire, Hampshire and Somersetshire. Mr. Revans raises the old cry of devastation, and complains grievously of close parishes and of the destruction of cottages; but as he also refrains from giving the names of the parishes in question, and as he leaves no clue by which it is possible to verify the existence of these evils, I must confess that this report, like the last, seems to me to be of little or no service in elucidating the points in question.

Mr. Revans gives us 30 pages of desultory evidence, from which the names of the parishes accused of various misdeeds are excluded.

There are some passages in the report which would do him infinite credit as a writer of romance. He says, for instance, in one place—"In rural parishes, belonging solely to one proprietor, the effect is most complete; in these the population may be said to be the property of the proprietor, and to be sold with the land."

MR. HOWELL'S REPORT ON NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Mr. Howell's report on Nottinghamshire is of a different nature from the last. He exhibits none of the cautious reserve of Mr. Revans, but enters boldly into the field. He visits most of the unions in the county, and gives the names of certain selected parishes in each, which are most remarkable as

close or open. From this report I have derived much valuable information, although I think I shall show that his opinion that the "close parishes have been gainers to a considerable extent"—that they "have relieved themselves of their surplus population, and of their just proportion of the charge of maintaining them when chargeable, at the expense of their less fortunate neighbours," is not founded on fact.

It will be seen, on the contrary, that by far the greatest increase in wealth and prosperity which has taken place in Nottinghamshire between 1815 and 1843 has fallen to the lot of the towns, and of what Mr. Howell calls the "poor manufacturing villages, groaning beneath a burthen almost beyond their powers of endurance," while the value of what he calls "the rich close parish, bearing almost the shadow of a poor rate," has increased in a comparatively very trifling degree during the same period.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value assessed to Property Tax in		Increase or Decrease of Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of Poor in		Rate in the Pound in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
Open Parishes.	17,761	37,363	41,278	93,710	182,622	202,770	£ 303,447	£ 606,514	303,067	£ 43,945	£ 50,963	s. d. 2 10½	s. d. 1 8½	s. d. 1 2½
Close Parishes	2,540	3,149	3,222	13,406	16,786	16,532	£ 136,198	£ 152,544	16,340	£ 7,066	£ 4,616	1 0½	0 7½	0 5½
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase in Annual Value as assessed to Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).			Excess paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.
Open Parishes.	132 per cent.			116 per cent.			100 per cent.			s. d. 1 10½		s. d. 1 1		s. d. 0 9½
Close do.	27 do.			22 do.			12 do.							

(Particulars in Appendix, p. 90.)

MR. WEALE'S REPORTS ON BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

The next report is that of Mr. Weale. He was requested by Mr. Buller to examine into the state of the county of Bedford (in which there are a considerable number of close parishes). The very able manner in which he grapples with the subject, and sets forth the actual state of the whole county, both in this report and in his subsequent one on Huntingdonshire, does him the highest possible credit. His plan of separating the town parishes, and then placing the open and close

agricultural parishes in fair opposition to each other, has enabled me to calculate the actual increase or decrease of the value per acre of the close and open parishes in those two counties.

I have brought the two reports together, in order to show that they are similar in every respect, and that no conclusion can fairly be drawn from one of them which may not equally be drawn from the other.

It is a curious fact, that the town parishes in Bedfordshire actually paid, in 1847, a less rate in the pound on the annual value of their real property than the close parishes.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase or Decrease of Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of Poor in		Rate in the Pound.		Reduction of Rate in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
18 Town Parishes	3,451	7,068	8,979	17,905	36,454	44,835	£ 51,118	£ 158,499	107,381	£ 10,980	£ 10,101	s. d. 4 3½	s. d. 1 3½	s. d. 3 0½
90 Open do.	7,482	12,780	14,273	30,902	63,952	72,070	242,534	319,931	77,397	34,583	30,487	2 10½	1 10½	0 11½
25 Close do.	965	1,387	1,421	5,496	7,530	7,573	50,031	51,013	1,018	4,897	3,859	1 11	1 6½	0 4½
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Popula- tion in 50 Years.			Increase in Annual Value as assessed to Property Tax in 33 Years (1815—1848).							
18 Town Parishes	160 per cent.			149 per cent.			210 per cent.							
90 Open do.	92 "			81 "			31 do.							
25 Close do.	49 "			37 "			Not quite 2 do.							

(Particulars in Appendix, p. 108.)

Population and houses have increased very largely in all three classes of parishes.

	Open Agricultural Parishes.	Close Parishes.
1815. Value per acre (including buildings) }	£1 2 8½	£1 3 1½
1848. Value per acre (including buildings) }	1 9 11½	1 4 2
Increased value per acre ..	£0 7 2½	£0 0 5½

in return for an excess of poor rates of 4d. in the pound, or 6d. per acre, paid by open parishes. It does not appear that the open parishes have any just ground for complaint.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

	Inhabited Houses			Population			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase or Decrease of Annual Value.	Expended for Relief of Poor.		Rate in the Pound.		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1850.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
Town Parishes	2,104	8,566	3,939	10,619	17,610	19,246	£ 63,746	£ 87,710	£ 23,964	£ 7,605	£ 7,662	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Open do. ..	4,085	7,256	8,207	22,764	35,520	33,149	197,407	233,502	36,205	19,844	18,382	2 4½	1 9	0 7½
Close do. ..	702	1,085	1,139	4,185	5,419	5,785	59,065	56,710	825	4,020	3,562	1 4½	1 2½	0 1½
									Decrease					
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase or Decrease of Annual Value of Real Property in 35 Years.							
Town Parishes	87 per cent.			61 per cent.			Increase 38 per cent.							
Open do. ..	103 "			72 "			" 18 "							
Close do. ..	62 "			38 "			Decrease ½ "							

(Particulars in Appendix, p. 112.)

Population and houses have increased largely in all classes of parishes. In the open and close parishes the houses have increased in a much greater ratio than the population.

		Open Agricultural Parishes.		Close Parishes.	
1815. Value per acre (including buildings)	}	£1	6 3½	£1	3 2
1850. Value per acre (including buildings)		1	11 1½	1	3 0½
Increase per acre		0	4 10½	Decrease	0 0 1½
Deduct excess of poor rates per acre	}	0	0 9½		
Net increase per acre in open parishes		£0	4 1½		

MR. PIGOTT'S REPORT ON BERKS,
BUCKS, AND OXFORD.

Mr. Pigott selected certain parishes in these counties to report on.

He says, that a principal object of his inquiries was to ascertain the effect of what are called "close parishes" on the general condition of the labouring classes.

The results of his inquiries coincide generally with those of the other reports.

1st. Both in open and *close* parishes, but particularly the latter, houses had increased in a far greater ratio than the population.

2nd. The annual value of real property in the open parishes had largely increased. In the close parishes there was often a slight decrease.

3rd. As usual, a great equalization of the rates has been in progress. In 1815 the open parishes paid 1s. 8d. in the pound more than the close ones. In 1847 this had been reduced to 9d. in the pound.

So that the "great close parish case" again falls to the ground.

One thing distinguishes Mr. Pigott's report from the others. He found among what he is pleased to call the "close parishes," some that have really been suffering *under*, but I apprehend not *from*, the existing order of things.

A considerable portion of these close parishes have not only decreased in annual value since 1815, but have actually paid a higher rate in the pound in 1847 than in that year.

Is this attributable to a fall in the value of grass land within an easy distance of the metropolis,—or to what other cause?

	Inhabited Houses			Population			Annual Value assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of Poor in		Rate in the Pound.		Reduction in the Pound		
	in			in												
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.			
							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		
84 Open Parishes	10,449	17,085	18,088	56,575	84,272	88,063	281,482	377,473	95,991	52,978	47,656	3 9½	2 6½	1 3		
34 Close do. ..	1,173	1,699	1,766	6,914	8,359	8,780	60,012	62,654	2,642	6,309	5,574	2 1½	1 9½	1 0		
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.			Increase in Annual Value as assessed to Property Tax in 33 Years (1815-1848).					Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open
84 Open Parishes	73 per cent.			56 per cent.			34 per cent.					s. d.		s. d.		
84 Close do. ..	51 "			27 "			4 "					1 8		0 9			0 11

(Particulars in Appendix, p. 116.)

MR. HAWLEY'S REPORT ON NORTHUMBER- LAND.

In this instance Mr. Hawley entered into a fair inquiry of the state of all the parishes and townships in the whole county of Northumberland. He consequently failed in making out any case of close parish grievance, although there are far more parishes and townships in this county in the hands of a very limited number of proprietors than in any other in England.

It appears that, at the time the tithes of Northumberland were commuted, there were in that county—

Parishes or
Townships.

173	Belonging to 1 proprietor, of which 8 are described by Mr. Hawley as being close				
67	Do.	2	Do.	none	Do.
39	Do.	3	Do.	2	Do.
13	Do.	4	Do.	none	Do.

292 Parishes or townships in the hands of 1, 2, 3, or 4 proprietors.

There are in Northumberland 539 parishes or townships separately maintaining their own poor. Mr. Hawley says—

“An increase in the population (which is very extensive in several of the parishes) has taken place during the 10 years ending the last census, in all the unions in the county, with the exception of Castle Ward, Belford, and Rothbury unions; in these the returns show a decrease, which is not attributable to any unusual or undue causes, such as emigration to foreign parts, or the depopulation of close parishes by the landowners, but solely to the ordinary fluctuations in the labour market, produced by the commencement of public works, and the opening of coal and other mines in some parishes, and the discontinuance of them in others. In those parishes where there is an excess in the population beyond the natural and ordinary average increase, it is referable to the same causes, and is in the ratio of the decrease of the depopulated parishes.”

Again he says:—“From the replies received from about 450 townships, it appears that notwithstanding one-half of the number belong respectively to one, two, or three proprietors, *only twenty are stated to be close townships*, in all

"of which the conclusion is arrived at from the circumstances
 "of there not being sufficient cottage accommodation. *It is*
"not, however, shown that this has been caused by demolition
"on the part of the landlord; on the contrary, it may be
 "inferred, from the general tenor of the replies, that it is owing
 "to a sudden congestion of labourers on certain points, attracted
 "by public works or the opening of mines, for whom
 "there has not been time to prepare sufficient accommodation.
 "When the replies show that cottages have been pulled
 "down by the landlords, they state at the same time that they
 "have in most cases been rebuilt, and when no rebuilding has
 "taken place it is accounted for by the circumstance of the
 "migration of labourers to other localities where labour was
 "more abundant, and for whom accommodation was consequently
 "no longer required."

So that Mr. Hawley is satisfied that there is no case against the close parishes of Northumberland.

It will be seen by the annexed table that the close parishes, named above, paid, in the year ending April, 1847, a higher rate in the pound for the support of their poor than the average rate of the county in that year :—

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Property Rated for the Relief of the Poor in 1847.	Paid for Relief of Poor in 1847.	Rate in the Pound in 1847.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.			
23 Close Parishes } or Townships .. }	1,028	1,849	1,379	5,358	6,925	7,651	£ 82,638	£ 2,119	s. d. 1 3½
Whole County .. }	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,240,474	75,415	1 2½
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Population in 50 Years.				Excess in the Pound paid by Close Parishes over the County in 1847.	
23 Close Parishes } or Townships... }	34 per cent.			43 per cent.				s. d. 0 1	

MR. HAWLEY'S REPORT ON THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

It seems to have been the wish of the Poor Law Board to give Mr. Hawley another opportunity of making his case good against the close parishes, which he had so entirely failed to do in his report on Northumberland, but which he still maintained to be existing in some other parts of his district.

Mr. Hawley tells us, that when, in October, 1850, he received the instructions of the board to prepare this second "*report of close and open parishes*," it was left to his own discretion to select such a portion of the district under his charge as he believed would supply the fittest data for the inquiry. He says, that, "Considering the North Riding of the county of York likely to afford a striking evidence of the evil under consideration as any other part of the district, which is throughout more or less affected by it,"—he addressed circulars to the clerks of the several unions of that locality, and the number of parishes returned as *close* were 65. Why did not Mr. Hawley give us the statistics or even the names of these 65 parishes, and compare them with all the other parishes in the whole district in which they were situated, as he did in Northumberland? We may answer boldly, because no case could be made out by such a proceeding,—because the result would have been the same as it was in Northumberland. How did Mr. Hawley then proceed to make his case against the close parishes? Why, he selected 21 parishes or townships, partly in the North and partly in the East Riding of Yorkshire, as being those which would best suit his purpose. He did not even compare them with the other parishes and townships combined in union with them; but, in order to make out a case, he selected out of the 960 townships and parishes comprised in those ridings, 21 as close parishes; and out of the same extended area he selected 16 as open parishes with which to compare them.

He, Mr. Hawley, the inspector of that great Northern district, well knowing of course where to lay his hands on a few exceptional cases, selected out of 960 parishes and townships, 21—out of 2,144,000 acres, he selected 26,320—upon which to draw up a report that was to serve as a guide for the legislators of England!

Let us quote Mr. Hawley on his 21 "selected parishes," as to the great question of pulling down cottages on which the whole charge hinges. He says, "I selected 21, as bearing evidence of close parishes;" in 19 there is said to be "insufficient cottage accommodation. *Only one cottage in the whole of the parishes had been pulled down*, and only four new cottages had been built, and two repaired, within the last 10 years. There are 87 labourers employed in them, who with their families are obliged to reside in some neighbouring parish for want of accommodation." Thus, even in Mr. Hawley's 21 carefully selected townships, he finds that, as in Northumberland, the charge of pulling down cottages must be withdrawn.

Mr. Hawley gives us the rateable value of the property in the close and open parishes, and I am not surprised to find that the open parishes are valued at 50 per cent. more than the close ones. It seems odd, however, that the following deduction did not strike Mr. Hawley as the legitimate one:—

Value of open parishes £33,333 per annum.
Deduct value of close parishes .. 22,316 "

Increased value of open parishes }
from being inhabited by 7,068 } 11,017 "
persons instead of only 1,748 }

I have extracted from the census the cause of several of the districts, out of which Mr. Hawley has selected his close parishes, being thinly populated.—See Appendix, p. 138.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value assessed to Property Tax in		Increase or Decrease of Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of Poor in		Rate in the Pound.		Re- duc- ti- on
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s.
16 Open Parishes	1,038	1,530	1,534	5,000	7,068	7,079	39,519	41,617	Increase 2,373	1,814	2,186	0 11	1 0½	0
21 Close do. . .	265	273	293	1,591	1,748	1,875	26,009	25,725	Decrease 436	1,006	696	0 10	0 6½	0
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years.			Increase of Popu- lation in 50 Years.			Increase in Annual Value as assessed to Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).			Excess paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction
16 Open Parishes	48 per cent.			42 per cent.			5 per cent.			s. d.		s. d.		—
21 Close do.	11 "			18 "			Decrease 1 "			0 1		0 6		

RESULTS.

RESULT 1.

That the assertion, that any general system of clearances has been shown by these reports to have been effected during the last 50 years, by what is called in them, "the close parish system," is the reverse of the fact.

Table showing the Increase of Houses and Population in the Close Parishes named in the Reports, *i.e.* the Parishes named in them as having inflicted an unjust burden on neighbouring populous Parishes, either by driving out their Poor, from want of cottage accommodation, or otherwise.

Close Parishes, where situated.	No. of Parishes.	Reported on by	Increase of Houses in 50 Years. 1801 to 1851.	Increase of Population in 50 Years, 1801 to 1851.
Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex....	51	a'Beckett..	93 per cent.	37 per cent.
Neighbourhood of Reading*	7	.. ..	48 "	49 "
Nottinghamshire†..	55	Howell....	27 "	22 "
Bedfordshire†.....	25	Weale....	49 "	37 "
Huntingdonshire... 31	31	.. ..	62 "	38 "
Bucks, Berks, Oxon	35	Pigott....	51 "	27 "
Northumberland§..	23	Hawley...	34 "	43 "
North & East Rid- ing of York||..	20	.. ..	11 "	18 "

* Some of these 7 parishes are not strictly close, but they are represented as having driven their agricultural population into Reading.

† Other parishes are mentioned in the report as close, but

where the census records the diminution of population to have been caused by the shutting up of manufactories, or by coal mines having been worked out, I have omitted them. Those causes have probably acted in some degree on some of these 55 close parishes.

‡ These reports of Mr. Weale's are very complete, as they distinguish all the close and open parishes in those counties.

§ Mr. Hawley says, "From the replies received from about 450 townships, it appears that notwithstanding one-half of the number belong respectively to one, two, or three proprietors, only 20 are stated to be 'close' townships, in all of which the conclusion is arrived at from the circumstances of there not being sufficient cottage accommodation; *it is not, however, shown that this has been caused by demolition on the part of the landlord*, on the contrary it may be inferred, from the general tenor of the replies, that it is owing to a sudden congestion of labourers on certain points, attracted by public works or the opening of mines, for whom there has not been time to prepare sufficient accommodation. Where the replies show that cottages have been pulled down by the landlords, they state at the same time that they have in most cases been rebuilt, and where no rebuilding has taken place, it is accounted for by the circumstance of the migration of labourers to other localities where labour was more abundant, and for whom accommodation was consequently no longer required."

|| These 20 close parishes appear to have been selected by Mr. Hawley out of the whole 960 parishes and townships in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire; they are wholly useless, unless considered as exceptions to prove the general rule.

RESULT 2.

The assertion, that so-called close parishes have been enriched at the expense of the open ones in their vicinity, is the reverse of the fact.

Table showing the comparative Increase or Decrease in the Annual Value of Real Property (as assessed to the Property Tax) in the Open and Close Parishes named in these Reports, which took place in the 28 years between 1815 and 1843.

Where situated.	Reported on by	No. of Open Parishes.	Increase in Real Value of Open Parishes, 1815 to 1843.	No. of Close Parishes.	Increase in Real Value of Close Parishes, 1815 to 1842.
Agricultural Parishes in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex ..	a'Beckett	40	56 per cent.	51	5 per cent.
Norwich, and 10 close parishes in Henstead Union .....	.. ..	43	147 "	10	28 "
Bury St. Ed- mund's, and 6 close parishes in the Thingoe Union .....	.. ..	2	322 "	6	18 "
Reading, and 7 neighbouring parishes .....	.. ..	3	105 "	8	15 "
Nottinghamshire..	Howell	63	100 "	55	12 "
Bedfordshire*....	Weale	90	31 "	25	2 "
Huntingdonshire*	.. ..	63	18 "	31	Decrease.
Bucks, Berks, Oxon	Pigott	84	34 "	34	4 Increase
Northumberland ..	Hawley	(Property Tax of Townships not given.)			
North and East Ridings of York }	.. ..	16	5 "	20	1 "

* The town parishes of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire are not included here.

The (populous) open parishes have invariably been benefited to a much greater extent than the (thinly peopled) close ones.

The principle of the great increase in the value of open, as compared with close agricultural parishes, which runs through the whole of these statistics, is, I believe, this:—"That the parish in which labourers spend their wages is that which is enriched by them." The principle may be thus exemplified:

Suppose a parish of 2,000 acres, of the worst sand or clay that is capable of cultivation, to be placed in the centre of 30,000 acres of the richest agricultural land in England; and suppose the owners of these 30,000 acres, to clear away every single dwelling on them, except the farm-houses; and suppose all the labourers, with their families, to be driven into the poor 2,000-acre parish, the proprietors of which make every exertion to secure accommodation for them. On the old estimate, that the wages of the agricultural labourer amount to one-third of the produce (which is at least sufficiently correct for this argument), the value of one beast or sheep in three: and of one stack of hay or corn in three, produced by the whole 30,000 acres, would be carried in wages, on Saturday nights, into the poor parish. Tradesmen would flock into it and would grow rich there. Every pound of tea or yard of calico the farmers' wives might buy there, would pay toll in passing through the poor parish. All repairs and improvements over the whole 30,000 acres would be done by tradesmen residing in the poor parish, and would add to its wealth. We are supposing that both the 30,000 acres and the poor parish get as much labour as they want, so that the benefit of the workmen's labour, which is represented in the reports to be enjoyed solely by the close parishes, would be equally diffused over the district; the benefit of the expenditure of their wages would be confined to the poor parish. The loss of labour actually paid for by the farmers in the 30,000 acres, and expended in walking to and fro, would be very great. If the stables were pulled down as well as the cottages, and the farm-horses kept in the poor parish, several miles from their work, hay and corn being bought for them there, the absurdity of the system would be complete.

If at the end of 30 or 40 years, we could take a review of the whole district, we should find that the poor parish had become a small town; its poor soil would have been drained and fertilized into gardens, meadows, and accommodation land,

by the rich stream of wealth that had so long been flowing into it.

It might have become what the reports call pauperized, for it must contain aged, infirm, and perhaps some idle and dissolute persons; but, nevertheless, it would be rich and prosperous, and well able to support in their infirmity those who had enriched it by their wages during their youth.

Until the passing of the recent Act, making poor persons irremovable after five years' residence, the 30,000 acres could not, by clearances, have shifted the burden of their settled poor from their own shoulders to the poor parish, but they would have remained liable for their support when chargeable. They could shift it now to a certain extent; but it is clear that the advantages lost by such a course would be far greater than any saving they could hope for.

If the population of that 30,000 acres were congregated at six or eight points instead of one, those six or eight places would divide among them the advantages of "the poor parish," and this would approximate to the usual condition of an agricultural district.

RESULT 3.

That a very great equalization of the burden of the poor rate throughout the country is taking place, and has taken place since 1815; and that the assertion, that the burden of maintaining the poor has been shifted from the close to the open parishes, is the reverse of the fact.

A very great equalization of the burden of the poor rate has accompanied the great reduction that has taken place in it since the close of the French war. At that time there was an immense pressure on towns and populous parishes, while those parishes which contained few inhabitants were comparatively little rated. The result of many years of peace, combined with the Poor Law Amendment Act, has been not only (as has been shown) that increase of wealth has accompanied increase of population, but that there has been generally a vast decrease in the rates of populous places, while a far smaller share of the national gain has accrued to the thinly peopled parishes.

I bring the following proofs of these facts:

1st. A Table showing the annual value of real property in

each county in England and Wales in the years 1815 and 1851, with their expenditure for the relief and maintenance of the poor, and the rates in the pound of such expenditure in those years, together with the reduction of such rates in the pound, in each county during 36 years of peace. Appendix (I).

By this table it will be seen that the rates in those counties which were most heavily burdened at the close of the war, have been most relieved :—

	1815.		1851.		Reduction.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
The highest rated county in 1815 was Sussex }	..	5 0½	1	6	3	5½
The lowest rated county in 1815 was Northumberland }	..	1 1¼	1	1	0	0¼
<hr/>						
The extreme difference between the highest and lowest rated counties in 1815 (Sussex 5s. 0½d. and Northumberland 1s. 1¾d.), was.. }	s. d.		3 11½ in the pound.			
<hr/>						
The extreme difference between the highest and lowest rated counties in 1851 (Wilts 1s. 8d. and Derby 6d.), was }	s. d.		1 2 in the pound.			
<hr/>						
Showing an equalization of the burden, as it affects the masses of property, in the highest and lowest rated counties of }	s. d.		2 9½ in the pound.			

The able reports of Mr. Weale enable us to examine thoroughly the changes that have taken place in the town, open, and close parishes in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.

	Rate in the Pound of Expenditure for Maintenance and Relief of Poor in				Reduction in the Pound.	
	1815.		1847.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Bedfordshire :						
18 Town parishes }	..	4 3½	1	3½	3	0½
90 Open agricultural ditto	2	10½	1	10½	0	11½
25 Close ditto ditto	1	11	1	6½	0	4½

It is a curious fact that the close parishes in Bedfordshire paid in 1847 a higher rate than the towns.

	1815.		1847.		Reduction in the Pound.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Huntingdonshire:						
9 Town parishes ..	2	4½	1	9	0	7½
63 Open agricultural parishes }	2	0	1	7	0	5
31 Close agricultural parishes }	1	4½	1	2½	0	1½

Rates in the pound of expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1815 and 1847, in the open and close parishes in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex, reported on by Mr. a' Beckett:—

	1815.		1847.		Reduction in the Pound.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
86 Open parishes ..	4	1½	2	4½	1	8½
51 Close ditto ..	1	8½	1	1½	0	6½
Difference ..	2	5	1	3	1	2

Rates in the pound of expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1815 and 1847, in the town of Reading, and 7 neighbouring parishes, which are represented by Mr. a' Beckett to have driven their agricultural poor into that town:—

	1815.		1847.		Reduction.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
3 Town parishes ..	3	9	1	6½	2	2½
7 Neighbouring parishes	2	11½	2	0	0	11½
Difference ..	0	9½	0	5½	1	2½

It is remarkable that the rates of the complaining town parishes were, in 1847, about 24 per cent. below those of the parishes complained of.

Rates in the pound of expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1815 and 1847, in the open and close parishes in Nottinghamshire, reported on by Mr. Howell—in 8 different unions :—

	1815.		1847.		Reduction.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
63 Open parishes ..	2	10½	1	8¼	1	2½
55 Close ditto ..	1	0½	0	7¼	0	5¼

Rates in the pound of expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1815 and 1847, in the close and open parishes in Bucks, Berks, and Oxford, reported on by Mr. Pigott :—

	1815.		1847.		Reduction.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
69 Open parishes ..	3	9¼	2	6¼	1	3
35 Close ditto ..	2	1¼	1	9¼	0	4

Rates in the pound of expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1815 and 1847, of open and close parishes in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, reported on by Mr. Hawley :—

	1815.		1847.		Increase.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
16 Open parishes ..	0	11	1	0½	0	1½
						Reduction.
14 Close ditto ..	0	10	0	6½	0	3½

Seven other townships are named as close in this report ; but I have been unable to add them, as they are so small and insignificant that their statistics are incomplete in the parliamentary returns.

Mr. Hawley has discovered these 14 townships, which form an exception to the general rule, and which have had an advantage since 1815 over the 16 open parishes with which he compares them. But he had the 960 parishes and townships of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire out of which to choose them. He had 2,144,000 acres out of which to pick 26,320 acres. It is almost incredible that from such materials he could not make a stronger case ;

and these carefully chosen exceptions may be said to prove the rule.

Sussex was the most heavily burdened county in England at the end of the war; in 1815 it paid 5s. 0½d. in the pound on its real rental. Its rates in 1851 were below the average of the 12 highest rated counties in England.

		Rate in the Pound paid for Relief in		Reduction.
		1815.	1847.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
The 47 parishes in Sussex, which have increased most in population between 1801 and 1851	}	5 2	1 6½	3 7½
The 49 parishes which have increased least	}	3 11½	1 5¾	2 5½
Difference ..		1 2¾	0 0½	1 2¼
Increase in annual value in 28 years, 1815—1843, populous parishes.		}		136 per cent.
Ditto ditto	thinly peopled ditto			
			29	„

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

		1815.		Reduction.
		s. d.	s. d.	
28 Parishes containing more than 300 houses each ..	}	4 4½	2 5½	1 11
27 Ditto, containing less than 30 houses each ..	}	1 2	0 10	0 4
Difference ..		3 2¼	1 7½	1 7
Increase in annual value in 28 years, 1815—1843, populous parishes		}		43 per cent.
Decrease in thinly peopled ditto ..				
			2½	„

BERKS.

	1815.	1847.	Reduction.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
58 Parishes which were rated highest in 1815 }	4 0	2 0	2 0
54 Ditto, lowest in 1815 }	1 4½	1 5	0 0½
Difference ..	2 7½	0 7	2 0½
Increase of population in 50 years in those which were highest rated in 1815 }			61 per cent.
Ditto, lowest rated in 1815 }			30 „
Increase in annual value in 28 years, 1815—1843, highest rated .. }			58½ per cent.
Ditto, lowest „ ..			4½ „

Thus it appears that those parishes which contained a large population, and a large number of houses at the end of the war, were at that time very heavily rated; but that such places have almost invariably experienced a far greater increase in annual value, and a far greater reduction of poor's rates, than less populous parishes.

A charge of "unfairness" is frequently made against the present mode of assessing the establishment charges, according to the pauperism of each parish.

The cost of a machine should in fairness be paid by those who are benefited by it. Populous places still pay the largest rates for the support of the poor; but it is shown that such places have derived incomparably the greatest share of the reduction caused by the Poor Law Amendment Act.

The greatly reduced rates in the pound, now paid by these places, include their share of the establishment charges.

Such parishes as have participated most largely in the gain ought not, "in fairness," to grudge a larger share of the cost than those which have derived less benefit from it.

RESULT 4.

That the assertion, that certain town districts contain an undue and *increasing proportion of agricultural labourers, is the reverse of the fact.*

Mr. Chadwick, in his evidence before the Settlement Committee of 1847 (Quest. 2013), said, "I have not mentioned the physical deterioration arising from the practice of driving agricultural labourers into the lower suburbs of towns. It is into such neighbourhoods that this system of close parishes drives the agricultural labourers in the largest numbers. My observation was recently brought to the *increasing evil* by looking over the census, and finding how many agricultural labourers there were within boroughs or towns; for instance, I find that 129 agricultural labourers live in the borough of Bedford; 126 in Reading; 271 in Buckingham; 445 in Devonport, Exeter, Plymouth and Tiverton; 863 in Bristol, Cheltenham, and Gloucester. In several of these neighbourhoods I can state that they are in the very worst places they could be driven into. 846 in Bradford, Salisbury, and Trowbridge, within the borough; there are 1,033 agricultural labourers in Boston, Lincoln, and Stamford, and a great number in other boroughs."

1st. There are very large agricultural districts included in the limits described by Mr. Chadwick. I give, as an example, the borough of Tiverton, which contains 17,650 acres, united for the support of its poor. The town quarter occupies, according to the census, only 1,155 acres, the rest being an agricultural and grazing district. The agricultural labourers dwelling in, and necessary to cultivate these 16,500 acres, are represented by Mr. Chadwick as having been driven from the country into the town by the effects of parochial settlement. This is the first fallacy which, more or less, runs through the whole of this statement.

2nd. There are, residing in the districts named by Mr. Chadwick, a sufficient number of the employers of agricultural labour, farmers, farm bailiffs or stewards, to employ the whole of the labourers who dwell in them. I find that at the time of the census of 1841, the total number of farmers, graziers, farm bailiffs, and stewards, living in these boroughs, was 886; that of agricultural labourers,

(being men more than 20 years old,) was 3,361, or a very small fraction more than four labourers to each farmer, farm bailiff, steward, &c.—Appendix (L).

3rd. As to the charge that the number of the agricultural labourers has increased in these towns and the districts attached to them, I find from the census that in

1801, The total population of these town	}	173,004
districts was		
Persons chiefly employed in agriculture		4,772
		or 1 in 36

1841, The total population of the town	}	388,637
districts was		
Persons chiefly employed in agriculture,	}	5,170
including farmers, farm bailiffs,		
stewards, cattle dealers, land agents,		
and surveyors, pig dealers, thatchers,		
and agricultural labourers,		
was.. .. .		or 1 in 75

So that the per centage of agricultural population residing in these districts decreased more than one-half during the 40 years in which Mr. Chadwick represents the clearing system to have been ejecting them from their rural dwellings, and forcing them into crowded towns.

RESULT 5.

That the assertion, that the uneven distribution of the dwellings of the poor has been produced by the smallness of areas of chargeability (parishes), is the reverse of the fact.

It is an undoubted fact that there are in almost all the towns and large villages in Europe certain labourers, whose daily employment is at least 2 or 3 miles from their dwellings. This circumstance is represented in these reports as being caused in England by the limited areas of parochial chargeability. This point cannot be established, unless it can be shown that a more equal distribution of houses would be the result of larger areas of chargeability. A square mile consists of 640 acres, and there are a great number of parishes in England still undivided for the maintenance of the poor, con-

taining from 5,000 to 16,000 acres, *i. e.* from 8 to 24 square miles each.

In the largest rural parishes there is seldom more than one large village or small town, near which the church is situated, and in which the greater part of the inhabitants reside. There are, perhaps, in addition, one or two hamlets. Let us suppose one of these large parishes to be divided into several small ones. We will cut off for that purpose two or three square miles on the site of the church and hamlets. We have left a rural district of several thousand acres containing few dwellings and few inhabitants, and drawing most of its labourers from the village and hamlets we have cut off, exhibiting, in short, and frequently exaggerating, every peculiarity which is represented as belonging to close parishes, and as being caused by limited parochial chargeability.

I believe there are few large rural parishes in England that could not be divided in this manner into several districts, perfectly resembling what in these reports are called close and open parishes.

The account of the parish of Worksop, in Mr. Howell's report on Nottinghamshire (page 142), affords a good example of the above statement. He says:

"This parish contains about 18,000 acres" (nearly 28 square miles), "6,000 acres of which are in woods and plantations. The remainder is quite an agricultural district. It contains the market town of Worksop, and the hamlets of Shireoaks, Goleford, and Hayinfields. *The greater number of the labourers employed in the parish live in Worksop.* There are many labourers living in Worksop who work for Lord Manners at Thornby, for the Duke of Newcastle at Clumber, for the Duke of Portland at Welbeck, and for Mr. Foljambe at Osberton" (all I believe, except one, being in the parish). "Some of these men go regularly backwards and forwards, and have done so for 10 or 15 years, 3, 4, 5, and as much as 6 miles to their work. They generally walk; some few keep donkeys. A great many go 3 and 4 miles every day. They think nothing of the distance, as they are well paid and regularly employed. The noblemen and gentlemen I have mentioned pension their labourers when they are too old to work."

After this it is vain to assert that the limited extent of parochial chargeability is the cause either of the unequal distribution of population, or of the distance of the labourer's

dwelling from his work. Its operation in reality is quite the other way, and it does not admit of a doubt that, had the parish of Worksop been divided originally into nine parishes of 2,000 acres each, with nine churches and parsonage houses, nine distinct parochial interests, and nine separate staffs of parish officers, that there would have been, in lieu of the town of Worksop, nine separate villages, larger or smaller, in which the labouring population would have been located far nearer than they now are to their daily labour.

I have pursued the clue thus afforded me by Mr. Howell, with the following result :—

I find it a general rule throughout England that a large area of chargeability has produced a congestion of habitations. Let any one take out of the census of an agricultural county every parish undivided for rating and settlement, which contains at least seven or eight square miles, he will find that his list contains almost all the small rural towns and large villages in the district; that there are very few of these large parishes which do not contain small towns or important villages, and that districts of at least 1,660 acres each (which is the average size of the 56 close parishes in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire) could be pointed out in most of them which contain very few labourers' dwellings, and draw their labour from the populous parts of the parishes. He will find that the population of these large parishes is generally less evenly distributed than the population of an equal space which is divided into smaller parishes.

On the Continent we see at almost every stage large cultivated plains, with but few scattered houses, the cultivators dwelling generally in the towns and villages, and walking long distances to their work. We travel mile after mile, and the eye tells us that the working population lives elsewhere. This is the case in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Hungary and in Russia. Divide either of these countries into square blocks of 1,660 acres each, and you will find a far greater inequality in the distribution of the population than in England. Some will be town squares; some will contain villages; many will be rural squares with no dwellings or inhabitants, and drawing their labour from the more populous squares in their vicinity. That unequal distribution of population which is complained of in several of these reports, and attributed to our parochial system, will be found to exist in all these countries in a greater degree than in England. In Ireland, too,

before the introduction of any poor law, many labourers walked to their daily work at least as far as they are accustomed to do in England.

Again let us look at the distances in this metropolis. A carpenter who lives at Islington does not think himself aggrieved by being offered work in Belgravia, four miles from his dwelling; nor if he lives in Finsbury will he refuse work in Tiburnia, equally four miles from home.

RESULT 6.

Inequality of the Incidence of the Poor's Rate.

The assertion, that any "*inequality*" in the burden of the poor's rates on different parishes is "*unfair*," is the reverse of the fact.

In order to prove that *inequality* is *unfairness*, it must be shown on behalf of the person complaining,

1st. That there exists some reason, legal or equitable, why he should not pay a greater amount of poor rate than the person or parish of which he complains.

2nd. It must be shown in what the unfairness consists.

3rd. That there has been an increase of poor rates on his estate, beyond the average amount on which he could fairly calculate when he bought it or inherited it.

4th. That if his poor rates have been thus increased, his property has received no compensation from the same circumstances which have caused that increase.

5th. That the extra burden he now bears ought, in fairness, to be borne by some other person.

Answer 1st.—Inequality of rating for the support of the poor is coeval with, and is, in fact, part and parcel of our poor law.

The whole intent of our law, as established by the 39th cap. 3, and made permanent by the 43rd of Elizabeth, in making each parish liable for the support of its own poor, makes such inequality indispensable, (the fact of its thus individualizing the burden and the responsibility has been the secret of its success). The political economists of 1834

talk of this inequality as "unfairness." If it be unfairness, it is one that union rating would but exaggerate, and to which county rating could afford no remedy. Nothing short of a national rate can carry out the wishes of those who look upon inequality as an evil which should be removed by legislative enactments. The true stickler for equality of rating cannot be fully satisfied, until England, Scotland, and Ireland, are included in the same system, and subjected to the same rate. Equality could only be obtained by a general property tax, levied equally on all property in the three kingdoms. No equalization can be equitable, even towards itself, nor can it pretend to be final, unless it be complete and general.

Answer 2nd.—Inequality is said to constitute "unfairness;" let us endeavour to discover in what the "unfairness" consists, and who are the sufferers from it. It certainly is not unfair to the generality of tenants or occupiers of lands or houses; in making their bargain with the owner of the property before the commencement of their tenancy, the average amount of poor rate usually payable from the property is invariably taken into account by landlord and tenant, and is as much a part of the outgoings they are prepared to meet, as is the rent; nay, more so, in seasons of distress an allowance of 10 or 15 per cent. may be hoped for out of the latter, the poor's rate must be paid in its integrity. Even if the rates should rise suddenly and unexpectedly above the average of past years, the tenant at will has the option of quitting his house or lands, and the leaseholder can only be injured in so far as his term gives him, for the time, the interest of a proprietor; but whether the rates are high or low, so that they do not exceed the average of past years, he can in no way be injured by them. The owner may, in certain cases, have more reason to complain, but there are few who have just cause to do so. Any owner, who either bought or inherited his estate subject to poor's rates, bought or inherited it as much, minus the average amount paid for the relief of the poor, as it was minus the usual amount paid for tithe. It is not more unfair that he should not possess one than the other of these sums, they are not his, for he neither bought nor inherited them. He has no more reason to complain of their payment, than of any family settlement that might attach to his property.

Answer 3rd.—In answer to the third proposition it may be

advanced, that the reduction in the pressure of the poor rates on real property in England and Wales, during the last forty years, has been very general and very great.—Appendix (K.)

During the 10 years ending Lady-day, 1822, }				s.	d.
the average rate in the pound was . . }				2	5½
Ditto	12	"	"	1834	1 10¼
Ditto	17	"	"	1851	1 2

The rate in the pound has thus been reduced considerably more than one half during the last thirty years.

It will be seen by referring to the table of the average rates in the pound of each county in England in the years 1815 and 1851, Appendix (I.), and to the analyses of close and open parishes in the Appendices, that those counties and parishes which are still the highest rated, were so in a far greater degree at the close of the war; and that the very towns and populous places that are now crying out for an equalization of the rates, are those which have received most benefit from the great decrease of rates which has already taken place. It is certain that the causes which have produced this equalization are still in full and active operation.

The reduction of the rates has been so general, particularly since the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, that I believe it would be difficult to point out more than a few exceptional cases in which properties have paid, during the last few years, higher poor rates than their owners might reasonably have calculated on when they inherited, or bought, or took a lease of them. Such cases, where they exist, could probably be shown to result from exceptional causes, or from local mismanagement.

Answer 4th.—With regard to the fourth point, it will be found by an examination of the statistics of open and close parishes contained in the Appendices, that although the poor rates paid by populous parishes still frequently exceed those paid by thinly-peopled ones, yet that the extra rate is far more than compensated for by the great increase in annual value of real property in those populous places, as compared with the others. If the immense amount of personal property which has been accumulated in all trading or manufacturing places, during the last five and thirty years could be added to this account; and if the exertions were considered which have been made, in order, by increase in quantity, to keep pace with the gradual diminution in the price of

agricultural produce ; if the interest of the capital sunk in improving the rural districts were deducted from the increased rent, where such increase has taken place,—the complaints of some of these populous places would be regarded with astonishment.

Answer 5th.—On the fifth head an attempt has been made to show that thinly-peopled rural parishes ought to bear an equal share of the burden of supporting the poor of the town and populous districts in their vicinity. To attempt to establish this point, it has been pretended that thinly-peopled parishes ought to have been populous, and that the masses congregated in towns and large villages are only so congregated, because their habitations have been destroyed, and they have been driven from their former homes in the rural districts ; and it has been asserted that a heavy burden has been thrown on these towns and villages by the increase of their population.

All of these assertions are disproved by the statistics presented to you. A most careful search has been made throughout England by the writers of the reports to discover the sites of these ruined houses and exiled populations, which search has entirely failed. These statistics also show most clearly that a very large excess of houses has been provided in most of the close parishes pointed out in the reports, beyond the increase of their population. Accommodation has thus been afforded for a greater increase of population, which would undoubtedly have taken place, had there been a permanent demand for more labour in those districts, and had not a part of the younger portion of the community been tempted from home by the higher wages and greater employment offered to them in the towns.

The examination of the reports proves incontestably, that the real property of that parish in which a labourer resides, and spends his wages, is that which derives the greatest benefit from his labour. It is therefore, generally speaking, that parish which ought, in “fairness,” to support him in sickness or old age.

RESULT 7.

That the assertion, that the people of England are, by the operation of the present law, confined to their parishes, is the reverse of the fact.

At the same time that I maintain that what has been termed the "close parish case" has completely broken down, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact, that there has taken place, during the ten years preceding the last census, such a shifting of the residence, and such a migration and emigration of the population, as has not occurred in England since the passing of the Settlement Act of Charles the Second. These changes have been particularly numerous in the south-western counties of England, in which the wages of labour have been for many years unduly low.

A very large number of parishes in those counties have decreased both in houses and population between 1841 and 1851. In all of these the number of parishes, in which population has decreased, much exceeds the number of those in which houses have diminished, which proves that the diminution of population has been the cause of the falling off of the houses, and not *vice versâ*.

I believe that these changes have been occasioned,—

Partly by emigration, which has proceeded at a rate previously unheard of.

- „ the facilities of railway communication.*
- „ the increased demand for labour in manufacturing districts, on railways, &c.
- „ the orders of the Poor Law Commissioners prohibiting out-door relief to the able-bodied.

These causes have produced this great shifting of labourers and their families from such parishes as contained a larger number than those for whom they could find constant employment. The effects of the prohibitory orders were not, of course, ascertained until the census of 1851, and it was probably several years before their effects were felt; the law of

* ADVANTAGE OF RAILWAYS TO THE POOR.—No persons seem more to have profited by it than third-class passengers. For a few pence they are carried in two or three hours a distance which on foot would be a long day's journey; for a few shillings they get from York or Cornwall to London; and there is now no natural obstacle to the complete and equal diffusion of labour throughout every part of the Empire.—*Economist*.

settlement has undoubtedly been the reason why these changes have been accompanied with so little *comparative* suffering to the poor. Those labourers who, from partial infirmity, advancing age, or numerous families, are unable to range the world in search of new homes and new employments, and who could only have fallen back upon the workhouse, if the pressure had been put upon them, have, by the merciful and beneficent operation of the settlement laws, been those whom it has been the interest of the ratepayers to employ at home, rather than to incur the additional and unremunerative cost of supporting them in the workhouse; those on whom the pressure has fallen have been the younger, stronger, and more active portion of the community, and they have, as we shall see, abandoned their old haunts and habits, and sought new occupations and new localities, in a manner that seems almost incredible in so short a space of time. These changes are still proceeding. I believe that they have gone on, with even greater rapidity, since the census of 1851, than before; since the golden stores of the Pacific have been thrown open as a prize for the strong and hardy labourer.

Nothing is so dangerous as hasty legislation, and any legislation that would affect this great operation, which is now quietly working its way, will be hasty, if we venture upon it before we have seen what results the census of 1861 will present to us. The abolition of the settlement laws, or of the law of removal, which in effect amounts to precisely the same thing, would perhaps hasten that re-adjustment of the population which is now so rapidly and quietly proceeding; but it would invest it with horrors which it does not now possess, and would cause a sudden and fearful increase of the pauperism and poor rates of the country, by throwing out of work or seriously reducing the wages of those tens of thousands of inferior hands and men with large families, who now get the preference in the distribution of employment in their own parishes. It is perhaps singular, but no less true, that this great re-adjustment of the population has been accompanied by a general and progressive decrease in the number and cost of removals. The five years' Act of 1846, and the general good feeling of the community, are gradually putting an end to removal, and I feel assured that the returns which are now preparing on this subject, (and which will, I trust, be before parliament when it comes on for discussion) will place this fact beyond dispute, while the good effects of the settlement law on the con-

dition of the poorer classes remain undiminished. The effects of these changes have already been felt in those parts of the south-western counties with which I am best acquainted, (the north of Devon and the west of Somerset,) in having produced a scarcity of hands, and a consequent rise in the price of labour, which will doubtless become general and permanent. The decrease in population has extended over many town parishes, and many which are in the hands of a large number of proprietors, so that it can have nothing to do with what is called the "close parish system." The county of Wilts, in parts of which a manufacturing population has been thrown upon the land by the failure of the woollen trade, actually decreased in population between 1841 and 1851. The three parishes of which Salisbury is composed decreased in population to the amount of 560 souls during that period.

There were in Devonshire, at the time of the commutation of tithes, only

3 parishes, having each 1 proprietor.			
10	"	"	2 "
8	"	"	3 "
7	"	"	4 "

And 3 of these 28 parishes are in Exeter.

Devonshire contains in all probability a larger proportion of yeomen, or small landed proprietors cultivating their own farms, than almost any other county in England, and yet in *Devonshire*, out of 514 parishes or places recorded in the census—

229, or 45 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
286, or 56 " " population during the same period.

In *Somersetshire*, out of 501 parishes or places,
221, or 44 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
248, or 49 " " population during the same period.

In *Wiltshire*, out of 371 parishes or places,
126, or 34 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
175, or 47 " " population during the same period.

In *Dorsetshire*, out of 303 parishes or places,
94, or 31 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
113, or 37 " " population during the same period.

An examination of the lists contained in Appendix (N.) of

towns and large populous places that have shared in this decrease in these four counties, will convince the most sceptical that what is termed the "close parish system" has had nothing to do with this great movement of the people.

While in those hotbeds of close parishes, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, in which it will be seen by Mr. Weale's reports that nearly a third of the parishes are what is called "close," the decrease has been as follows:—

In *Bedfordshire*, out of 151 parishes or places,
 12, or 8 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
 31, or 20 " " population during the same
 period.

In *Huntingdonshire*, out of 116 parishes or places,
 9, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
 23, or 21 " " population during the same
 period.

The decrease in the population of many parishes in the mining districts is not surprising when we consider the great temptation held out to miners in other hemispheres; it certainly has nothing to do with the number of proprietors in a parish.

In *Cornwall* there were at the time of the tithe commutation only nine parishes, which were the exclusive property of 1, 2, 3, or 4 proprietors, and yet out of 227 parishes or places in that county recorded in the census,—

112, or 49 per cent. decreased in houses between 1841 and 1851.
 123, or 54 " " population during the same
 period.

In *Northumberland*, where more than half the townships are in the hands of 1, 2, 3, or 4 proprietors, a similar effect has been produced.

And yet in all these counties, except Wiltshire, the population increased between 1841 and 1851.

If this migration of the people had depended on the small number of the proprietors of parishes, or on the smallness of the areas of chargeability, or on the laws of settlement and removal, it would not have come suddenly upon us between 1841 and 1851. Those causes have been in existence, and must have produced the same effects on every census since 1801, if such had been the case. Property is now much more divided than it then was, and every successive half-year brings some old landed properties in lots into the market.

I shall here, Sir, conclude my analysis of this part of the subject, and sincerely hope that the time and attention I have given to it will be of some service in elucidating the difficult and involved problem of poor relief. I have only sought for the truth, and I have spared no labour. I am aware that I differ, on many points, from persons whose opinion is entitled to great respect; but I have endeavoured not to bring forward any new points which do not appear to me to be supported by solid arguments, and, in some cases, by considerations which have not before been introduced into poor-law discussions. I feel that it would be necessary to substantiate a case of general and systematic abuse, in order to justify such extensive constitutional changes as the abolition of the protection that is afforded to the poor by the laws of settlement and removal, and of our system of parochial self-government; and I confess that it does not appear to me that any facts have yet been brought forward that will bear examination, and sustain the arguments in favour of those changes that have been attempted to be raised on them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FREDERIC WINN KNIGHT.

THINGOE UNION.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "Though Bury is, perhaps, the largest recipient of such poor as are unable to find residences within their own parishes in the Thingoe Union, the law of settlement causes, even within the union itself, a considerable burden to be thrown on some places at the expense of others. The close parishes, among which are Ickworth and Westley, to which I have already referred, are the subjects of much complaint from the ratepayers of the open parishes, who have to support the worn-out or otherwise incapacitated labourers who have given their labour to these close parishes as long as any profit was to be obtained from it."

Open Parishes :	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
Great Weirham	33	108	119	232	514	552	£ 1,851	£ 3,277	£	£ 206	£ 198	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Chevington	54	120	123	445	624	600	2,681	3,733		530	496	3 1½	1 7½	1 5¼
Pakenham	89	226	234	681	1,102	1,134	3,113	6,982		632	342			
Troston	30	87	92	247	409	427	1,323	2,272		137	235			
Barrow	77	199	214	614	995	1,120	3,726	4,808		401	504			
Brookley	33	80	71	253	380	378	1,450	2,497		236	267			
Horningsheath	97	132	136	543	597	670	2,458	4,132		459	244			
	413	952	989	3,005	4,621	4,881	16,602	27,701	11,099	2,591	2,286			

STOWMARKET UNION.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "The town of Stowmarket suffers pecuniarily, physically, and morally, from the crowding together of large masses of persons, who are drawn into it by the system of pulling down or refraining from the building of cottages in the adjoining close parishes. The class of inhabitants thus thrown into the place must be liable to increase the burden on the poor rate."

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Stowmarket	273	609	1,761	3,043	£ 6,043	£ 10,570	£	£ 1,029	£ 816	£. d.	£. d.	£. d.
Combes	96	228	662	1,064	3,653	5,159		381	350	2 9½	1 5½	1 3½
Beyton	36	73	231	384	940	1,606		73	108			
	405	910	2,654	4,491	10,636	17,335	6,689	1,483	1,274			
<i>Close Parishes:</i>												
Gipping	12	17	19	93	915	1,250		86	80			
Harleston	10	17	18	90	763	886		31	58	1 9½	1 3½	0 6
Stowlangtoft	18	31	162	183	1,034	1,779		130	120			
	40	65	369	366	2,712	3,915	1,203	247	258			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1816—1843).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.	
3 Open Parishes .	149 per cent.		83 per cent.		63 per cent.		0 11½		0 2		0 9½	
3 Close ditto	62 "		Decrease 1 per cent.		44 "							

BOSMERE AND CLAYDON.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "From much discussion, and conversation of a desultory nature, I was able to glean the fact, that in this union there are many parishes with scarcely a cottage upon them, though they employ a great number of labourers living in other parishes, which have to support many of these men when ill or out of work."

"The advantage gained by the clearing of close parishes must of course be at the expense of those that are open; and "Debenham is one of those in the Bosmere and Claydon Union that has materially suffered by the system."

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841. 1851.	1801.	1841. 1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Debenham	390	356 37	1,215	1,667 1,653	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Needham Market.	257	297 31	1,348	1,353 1,367	4,512	7,006	637	637	1,035	2 10	2 8½	0 1½
	647	653 686	2,563	3,020 3,020	6,046	10,431	938	938	1,424			
<i>Close Parishes:</i>												
Creeting, St. Olave	4	6 8	36	30 50	472	639	18	17		0 11½	0 7½	0 3½
Nettlestead	16	14 18	87	98 81	1,049	1,279	55	45				
	20	20 26	123	128 131	1,521	1,918 1	73	62				
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax 28 Years (1815—1843).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Close Parishes.	
2 Open Parishes.	6 per cent.		18 per cent.		57 per cent.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
2 Close ditto.	30 "		7 "		26 "		1 10½		2 1		0 2½	

WOODBIDGE AND PLOMESGATE.—WOODBIDGE UNION.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "The Woodbridge Union consists of 46 parishes, many of which are unduly burthened with poor, while others are almost wholly free; and these, being in the hands of few owners, will, as long as the law continues in its present state, maintain, and even extend, the exemption they enjoy at the cost of their neighbours. The town of *Woodbridge* complains of the influx of poor from places adjoining."

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.	
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.		
<i>Open Parishes:</i>															
Little Bealings ...	28	63	63	277	322	315	£ 842	£ 1,001	£	103	201	£. d.	£. d.		
Woodbridge ...	590	1,132	1,147	2,030	4,954	5,161	10,319	18,397		2,557	2,394	4 2	2 8	1 6	
Charsfield	50	113	116	411	551	511	1,303	2,160		181	411				
Martlesham	43	100	104	269	510	477	1,975	3,013		385	337				
	711	1,408	1,430	3,977	6,337	6,464	15,539	24,571	9,032	3,236	3,283				
<i>Close Parishes:</i>															
Letheringham ..	16	33	37	138	164	206	1,626	1,642		97	111	1 7	1 6	0 1	
Boulge	6	9	8	39	45	39	988	905		94	11				
Hoo	16	35	25	124	211	194	1,790	1,659		153	161				
Kesgrave	9	18	19	73	88	86	965	866	<i>Decrease</i>	72	98				
	47	95	89	374	508	525	5,279	5,073	297	416	381				
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).			Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.			Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		
4 Open Parishes .	101 per cent.			63 per cent.			<i>Increase</i> 58 per cent.			£. d. 2 7			£. d. 1 2		
4 Close ditto	90 "			40 "			<i>Decrease</i> 4 "						1 5		

SAMFORD.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.		Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>													
Tattingstone	53	85	98	620	628	597	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Chelmondiston ..	44	111	157	268	564	796	1,689	2,402	159	79	1 6	0 7½	0 10½
	97	196	255	889	1,192	1,393	3,918	5,165	298	167			
2 Open Parishes.	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).								
	163 per cent.		57 per cent.		32 per cent.								

THETFORD.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "I heard complaints from numerous Guardians against the overburdening of the open parishes with poor rates by the practice of clearing which is carried on by the landowners in the close parishes, some of whom distinctly avow their policy to be the location of their labourers upon the adjoining land of their neighbours."

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>														
Thetford, St. Peter's	157	232	242	716	1,184	1,211	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
" St. Mary's	134	244	265	661	1,207	1,252	{ 4,236 4,398 }			460	362			
" St. Cuthbert's...	192	324	347	869	1,543	1,612	{ 5,946 4,951 }			341	506	3 11½	2 0½	1 11½
	483	800	844	2,246	3,984	4,075	5,946	13,583	7,637	1,180	1,368			
<i>Close Parishes:</i>														
Kilverstone	6	7	8	70	47	36	1,146	870		52	13			
Brettenham	9	8	11	56	62	77	1,104	985		14	17			
Santon .....	..	6	7	10	27	34	445	310		9	30	1 2	0 6½	0 7½
Wretham, East ..	38	33	40	195	194	219	{ 1,371 3,180 }			160	28			
Do. West ..	5	17	26	96	103	168	{ 1,248 428 }			107	36			
Sturston	4	8	9	28	47	62	559		Decrease.	34	18			
	62	79	101	455	480	594	6,434	5,163	1,272	376	142			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).			Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.
3 Town Parishes...	75 per cent.			81 per cent.			Increase, 128 per cent.			s. d.		s. d.		
6 Close Do.	63 per cent.			31 per cent.			Decrease, 19 per cent.			2 9½		1 5½		1 4

HENSTEAD.

Mr. a'Beckett says, "The Henstead Union comprises 37 parishes, admitting of the usual distinction of "close and open; the former inflicting upon the latter the injustice that in every union I have visited is more "or less complained against." "Guardians of open parishes had similar complaints to make of burdens "thrown upon them by the clearing system, which has certainly prevailed in this Union." He represents these parishes among others to have inflicted injury on their neighbours, by driving out their poor, chiefly into Norwich.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1815.	1849.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Close Parishes:</i>											
Whittingham ..	2	4	20	28	£ 866	£ 799	£ 25	£ 6	s. d.	s. d.	
Intwood	3	12	39	49	596	843	36	7			
Holverstone	6	7	33	37	426	516	4	27			
Bixley	7	21	33	410	1,403	1,684	84	50			
Arminghall	16	15	81	79	1,163	1,274	143	72			
Caistor, St. Eds.	25	35	206	147	1,415	1,827	175	147	1 11½	1 0½	0 10½
Markshall	2	4	18	24	603	781	33	28			
Kewick	11	21	67	117	1,065	1,435	130	98			
Stoke Holy Cross	46	86	224	453	2,484	3,313	398	246			
Cringeford	23	33	138	191	1,270	2,088	163	94			
	141	238	859	1,286	11,310	14,498	1,101	775			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 38 Years (1815—1849).						
10 Close Parishes	79 per cent.		48 per cent.		28 per cent.						

ST. FAITH'S.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>													
St. Faith's.....	189	256	883	1,307	1,211	£ 1,640	£ 4,187	£	£ 831	£ 1,142	s. d.	s. d.	
Sprowstone	42	269	248	1,295	1,308	3,349	5,341		499	490	3 2½		
Felthorpe	53	110	289	574	565	1,021	1,653		170	383	4 6½		1 4
Hayford	66	122	353	570	681	1,470	2,828		250	271			
	350	757	1,773	3,686	3,715	7,480	14,000	6,529	1,690	2,236			
<i>Close Parishes:</i>													
Attlebridge	4	16	85	94	100	1,046	1,070		104	128	1 10	1 2½	0 7½
Alderford	6	8	35	44	41	532	727		43	15			
Lit. Witchingham	7	9	36	45	42	1,133	1,227		70	21			
Spixworth.....	9	8	81	52	41	1,388	1,992		167	146			
	20	41	237	235	224	4,099	5,016	917	374	310			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years—(1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 23 Years (1815—1843).			Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.
4 Open Parishes .	128 per cent.		110 per cent.			87 per cent.			2 8½		1 11½		s. d.
4 Close ditto	50 "		Decrease of 5 pr. cent.			22 "							0 8½

LODDON AND CLAVERING.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Increase in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>														
Broome	48	112	122	298	610	552	£	2,855	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	
Hales	23	67	75	131	302	324		1,829		95	251			
Ditchingham	95	237	250	534	1,124	1,130		5,213		92	156	1	2	0 5½
Loddon	162	246	266	799	1,107	1,211		8,337		270	410			
	328	662	713	1,762	3,233	3,217		18,234	6,124	244	650			
<i>Close Parish:</i>										701	1,467			
Stockton	14	26	29	111	139	143		1,352	218	29	48	0 5½	0 7½	0 2
4 Open Parishes. 1 Close Parish ..	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).			Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Increase in Open Parishes.
	117 per cent. 107 "	83 per cent. 29 "	51 per cent. 16 "							s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
										0 8½		1 0		0 3½

DOCKING.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Ratio in the Pound Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1849.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Rudham	108	200	203	572	994	985	3,594	4,948		316	555			
South Creake ..	112	108	215	625	940	1,041	3,587	5,317		415	430			
Burnham } Deepdale.... }	30	24	21	142	109	112	808	1,399		45	45			
Docking	163	298	326	777	1,537	1,040	6,088	6,874		1,063	908	2 4	1 11½	0 4½
Syderstone.....	48	98	101	258	504	552	2,846	2,735		192	262			
North Creake ..	63	127	154	405	648	776	3,816	4,162		571	370			
Snetisham.....	161	209	237	881	1,151	1,173	6,783	7,909		660	626			
Burnham Sutton	46	81	93	201	355	429	1,477	2,086		119	185			
	731	1,935	1,350	3,861	6,298	6,708	28,999	35,130	6,131	3,381	3,471			

READING.

Mr. a'Beckett says :—

“ From all I heard and saw at Reading, I have not the slightest hesitation in declaring, that the practice of “ pulling down cottages for the purpose of driving out the agricultural labourers, has existed in several “ parishes.”

Mr. Pigott says :—

“ The union is entirely a town union, and is heavily burdened with non-settled poor from adjacent rural “ parishes, who have to walk 2, 3, and 4 miles to and from their work.”

Town Parishes: (READING.)	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.		Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
St. Giles, Hamlet	651	{ 1,237 112	1,502 130	3,416 28	6,287 518	7,187 639	£ 11,351	£ 25,090	£ 2,066	£ 1,931	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
St. Lawrence ..	501	759	810	3,170	4,285	4,571	13,051	18,826	2,464	1,553	3 9	1 6½	2 2½
St. Mary, Hamlet	539	{ 1,041 10	1,786 9	3,156	8,365 66	9,068 80	12,263	31,399	2,346	2,412			
	1,751	3,759	4,237	9,770	19,521	22,175	36,665	75,315	6,877	5,899			

<i>Parishes said to have driven their Poor into Reading :</i>														
	99	90	101	452	481	503	3,958	4,623	500	356	2 11½	2 0	0 11½	
Maple Durham ..	217	297	325	1,069	1,642	1,752	6,919	9,823	775	720				
Caversham	73	85	92	436	471	487	2,709	3,512	593	557				
Earley	254	412	452	1,353	2,147	2,188	8,979	10,161	1,577	1,171				
Tilehurst	53	78	76	278	398	410	2,306	2,197	496	279				
Checkendon	53	61	65	217	284	337	2,704	2,095	303	157				
Upton	27	38	38	153	198	220	1,948	1,060	151	130				
Purley	776	1,070	1,149	3,958	5,621	5,903	29,523	34,071	4,395	3,376				
									4,548					
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1845).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Close Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.			
3 Town Parishes	142 per cent.		100 per cent.		105 per cent.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.			
							0 9½		0 5½		1 2½			
7 Neighbouring do.	48 "		49 "		15 "									

Newland is omitted because its statistics are mixed up with those of Arborfield.

Appendix (C.)
MR. HOWELL'S NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—(SUMMARY.)

UNIONS.	No. of Parishes.	Inhabited Houses.		Population			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor		Rate in the Pound in		Reduction in the Pound.
		1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
								£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>														
Nottingham	3	4,964	10,818	11,549	28,801	52,164	57,407	42,398	168,861	15,615	17,682			
Radford	2	571	3,699	4,305	2,827	17,896	21,077	9,393	38,302	1,120	4,384			
Basford	11	3,364	7,866	8,910	17,527	40,242	44,863	42,076	93,252	7,377	9,708			
Southwell	17	1,825	2,969	3,210	9,269	14,226	15,229	50,142	78,276	4,451	2,986			
Bingham	8	919	1,545	1,064	4,464	7,871	8,028	30,375	39,150	2,071	1,285	2 10½	1 8½	1 2½
Mansfield	5	2,178	4,008	4,435	11,355	19,534	21,641	29,302	45,773	5,162	6,322			
Worksop	4	986	1,662	1,917	4,794	8,273	9,429	24,355	41,653	2,513	2,859			
East Retford	6	1,137	1,793	1,969	5,391	8,190	9,351	25,625	39,274	2,045	2,425			
Newark	7	1,867	3,003	3,319	9,292	14,226	15,745	49,843	61,973	3,591	3,317			
	63	17,761	37,363	41,278	93,710	182,622	202,770	303,447	606,514	303,067	43,945			
											50,963			

[illegible]

BASFORD.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.						
Arnold.....	660	985	2,768	4,509	£ 4,704	£ 5,276	12,594	£ 1,325	£ 1,569	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Basford.....	377	1,679	2,124	8,688	10,093	5,239	14,735	591	1,285			
Beeston.....	171	555	948	2,807	3,016	4,139	7,419	477	740			
Bullwell	317	604	1,585	3,157	3,786	2,116	5,733	145	525			
Carlton	162	408	819	2,015	2,329	1,579	1,977	101	474			
Greasley	574	985	2,908	5,184	5,284	8,350	19,605	1,687	1,369	3 6	2 1	1 5
HucknallTorkard	271	537	1,497	2,680	2,970	3,119	4,474	967	835			
Lambley	71	183	467	983	951	2,814	4,200	319	406			
Ruddington ...	149	384	808	1,835	2,181	4,195	6,757	263	371			
Hearon	125	568	1,061	3,066	3,427	3,044	5,266	560	840			
Ilkeston	487	1,078	2,422	5,326	6,122	5,205	10,502	922	1,250			
	3,364	7,866	17,527	40,242	44,863	42,076	93,252	7,377	9,703			

SOUTHWELL.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes :</i>						£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Boughton	49	76	190	309	398	1,331	1,787		37	73			
Causton	67	117	366	539	611	4,493	5,794		219	212			
Caythorpe	31	61	168	315	315	558	1,253		89	69			
Eakring	91	134	441	661	710	2,479	2,858		167	146			
Edwinstone	111	199	506	948	1,009	2,190	4,161		306	155			
Egmanton	61	84	207	391	429	1,642	2,729		91	97			
Elstone	78	56	64	394	259	2,088	3,599		249	105			
Farnsfield	125	246	257	564	1,009	3,376	4,935		343	109	1 9½	0 9½	1 0
Hallam	66	83	284	411	390	1,803	2,324		157	73			
Lowdham	88	167	553	819	930	2,804	4,000		191	183			
Muskham, North	78	168	361	825	877	3,094	5,095		235	78			
Norwell	103	192	776	954	957	3,064	4,963		304	161			
Ollerton	93	157	439	777	937	1,788	3,194		135	160			
Oretton	130	194	637	841	850	3,311	3,854		203	240			
Southwell	467	670	724	3,487	3,516	10,462	19,124		1,360	724			
Sutton-on-Trent	125	245	614	1,142	1,262	3,964	6,971		120	223			
Wellow	62	120	344	549	597	1,005	1,626			88			
	1,825	2,969	9,269	14,226	15,229	50,142	78,276	28,134	4,451	2,986			

BINGHAM.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.		Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.	
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Bingham	218	385	427	1,082	1,908	2,054	7,463	8,944		571	259					
Cropwell Bishop.	64	125	141	307	533	640	1,706	2,520		169	74					
Bridgesford, East.	93	212	229	526	1,110	1,155	3,252	5,786		305	144					
Keyworth	65	116	141	325	576	687	1,663	2,193		89	141		1 4½	0 8	0 8½	
Ratcliffe-on-Trent	155	243	253	761	1,246	1,273	3,130	4,659		249	204					
Orston	71	96	99	351	531	461	2,390	2,504		197	136					
Bottesford*	180	290	301	864	1,375	1,374	7,825	8,937		292	192					
Whetton.....	73	78	73	368	532	404	2,916	3,607		200	135					
	919	1,545	1,664	4,464	7,871	8,693	30,375	39,150	8,775	2,071	1,285					

* Bottesford is in the Grantham Union.

MANSFIELD.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.	
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.		
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£		£	£	s. d.	s. d.	
Mansfield	1,201	2,047	2,259	5,988	9,788	10,627	13,326	22,319		2,530	2,675				
Mansfield Woodhouse }	211	399	430	1,112	1,871	1,972	4,527	6,196		581	572		3 6½	2 9	0 9½
Sutton in Ashfield and Hucknall	491	1,114	1,242	2,801	5,670	6,542	6,976	{ 9,256		1,343	2,240				
	83	175	206	510	887	1,150		{ 2,151		201	316				
Warsop :.....	192	273	298	944	1,318	1,350	4,473	5,851		507	529				
	2,178	4,008	4,435	11,355	19,534	21,641	29,302	45,773	16,471	5,162	6,322				

Close Parishes:	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).				Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).				Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).				Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.	
	65	79	71	333	423	373	2,354	2,863	180	130	180	10	10½	11	0	1½		
Tversall	7	9	9	35	66	48	730	708	46	46	10	10½	11					
Sokholme.....	22	21	20	109	91	99	1,548	1,536	67	67	44							
Glapwell																		
.....	94	109	100	477	580	520	4,682	5,102	470	243	234							
5 Open Parishes.	105 per cent.				91 per cent.				56 per cent.				s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
3 Close do.	3 "				7 "				13 "				2 5½		1 10		0 7½	

WORKSOP.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Worksop	639	1,364	1,483	3,263	6,197	7,315	£ 16,092	£ 29,368	£ 1,581	£ 2,040		
Anston	123	182	211	635	931	1,013	2,961	4,439	354	369		
Wales	52	64	50	239	351	206	1,321	1,911	96	67	2 0½	1 4½
Barlborough	123	152	173	677	904	933	3,961	5,935	480	390		
	936	1,662	1,917	4,794	8,273	9,439	24,355	41,633	2,513	2,859		

Close Parishes:	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.			
	26	30	32	122	193	161	778	845						
Carburton.....	24	31	33	157	225	205	4,118	4,354	66	64	0 11½	0 9	0 2½	
Hodasch.....	42	25	20	98	129	115	1,194	1,236	142	156				
Letwell	34	40	44	161	191	204	1,315	1,613	39	44				
Firbeck	196	196	190	538	738	685	7,405	8,048	105	42				
							643		352	306				
4 Open Parishes..	105 per cent.		97 per cent.		71 per cent.						s. d.		s. d.	
4 Close ditto ..	2 "		27 "		9 "						1 1½		0 7½	0 5½

EAST RETFORD.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Fund.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>														
Ordsall	120	226	289		560	955	£ 3,666	5,792	£	£ 197	262	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Retford, East ..	421	511	557	1,828	2,541	2,775	4,536	9,955		886	859			
Ditto West ..	127	159	165	483	618	653	2,441	3,104		194	212	1 7	1 2½	0 4½
Clarlborough	262	500	529	1,202	2,207	2,504	6,505	8,559		234	545			
Gringley	107	170	185	533	790	866	2,613	6,220		256	221			
Tuxford	100	233	244	785	1,079	1,211	5,814	5,554		278	336			
	1,137	1,793	1,960	5,391	8,190	9,351	25,625	39,274	13,649	2,045	2,425			

Close Parishes:	13	18	22	77	87	98	1,154	1,754	105	9										
Cotham																				
Hawton	20	48	43	107	240	227	4,874	4,212	168	145										
Stanton	42	33	32	217	272	173	1,397	1,516	31	71										
Winthorpe	31	52	52	196	225	243	1,905	1,908	33	38	0 10½	0 5½	0 4½							
Marston	72	84	89	326	434	488	3,463	3,846	138	122										
Parndon	96	115	134	367	575	590	3,929	5,869	244	96										
Westborough	39	48	118	181	250	286	2,384	3,884	82	51										
	313	398	429	1,431	1,963	2,055	18,856	22,039	801	532										
							3,243													
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).															
7 Open Parishes	78 per cent.		70 per cent.		24 per cent.															
7 Close ditto ..	34	"	44	"	17	"														

Appendix (D.)

MR. WEALE'S BEDFORDSHIRE.—TOWN PARISHES.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Town Parishes:</i>														
Ampthill.....	237	355	363	1,234	2,001	1,961	£ 4,579	£ 7,185	£	£ 868	£	s. d. 585	s. d.	s. d.
Bedford:—														
St. Cuthbert..	82	145	159	351	591	663	853	2,507		138	120			
St. John.....	54	89	90	254	446	453	310	1,112		83	75			
St. Paul.....	444	1,252	1,390	2,150	5,895	4,609	2,220	22,888		1,062	859			
St. Mary	116	181	265	616	1,042	1,670	4,292	6,920		317	136			
St. Peter	87	213	403	577	1,204	2,198	1,513	6,557		157	102			
Biggleswade.....	298	688	817	1,794	3,807	4,460	7,504	16,530		920	1,478			
Compton.....	45	270	312	790	1,390	1,600	1,596	1,977		153	208			
Shefford.....	90						868	2,411		168	191	4 3½	1 3½	3 0½

BEDFORDSHIRE.—CLOSE PARISHES.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property subject to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.
<i>Close Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.
Upper Graven-	31	64	64	201	373	357	1,842	1,870 ?	13	134		
hurst ..							1,435		105	24		
Lower ditto	9	8	9	48	50	58			182	258		
Millbrook	67	93	91	327	462	500	2,097	1,940	206	160		
Biddenham	57	61	71	252	345	373	1,963	2,613	364	216		
Elstow	56	75	78	321	420	407	2,611	3,273	206	170		
Bromham	43	59	59	237	314	343	1,938	2,736	520	301		
Cardington	92	113	110	509	607	574	3,324	3,738	200	337		
Cople	41	104	114	403	551	532	2,589	2,596	no return	314		
Elstow	96	112	121	475	562	531	(2,416)	3,166	121	75		
Knottling	22	29	32	105	175	187	1,061	1,305	198	89		
Malsbourn	40	46	51	223	274	299	2,033	3,144	292	212	1 11	1 6½
Rushbold	34	88	90	245	468	484	2,141	2,944				0 4½

25 Close Parishes	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 33 Years (1815—1848).		49 per cent.		37 per cent.		2 per cent.	
	30	53	50	188	332	267	843	719	962	51,013	4,807	3,859
Souldrop	30	53	50	188	332	267	843	719			163	138
Willington	36	50	56	229	268	282	1,933	2,067			197	203
Cockayne Hatley	18	21	22	102	99	112	1,330	1,047			95	88
Edworth	16	24	20	90	105	104	1,084	1,025			44	30
Eyeworth	13	26	26	86	128	141	1,457	1,484			82	53
Stondon	5	9	9	29	38	46	457	552			17	3
Sutton	68	65	71	301	415	449	2,857	3,304			220	302
Warden	63	111	111	455	630	627	4,943	4,369			624	461
Barford, Little ..	18	35	28	80	190	112	1,260	1,252			68	12
Battleden	21	30	29	133	179	160	2,420	1,485			323	114
Holcot	10	11	12	65	62	62	1,327	1,381			263	124
Salford	46	67	65	210	325	309	1,534	1,519			269	157
Tingrith	23	33	32	116	158	196	1,349	1,364			141	108
	955	1,387	1,421	5,496	7,530	7,573	50,031	51,013	962		4,807	3,859

HUNTINGDONSHIRE—(Continued).

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Close Parishes— (continued).</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Caldecott.....	8	13	14	39	52	52	823	1,091		26	50			
Chesterton	15	22	20	112	129	114	2,331	1,962		56	29			
Denton	15	19	20	66	97	82	568	964		48	62			
Glatton	71	63	63	323	307	286	2,885	2,798		259	113			
Haddon.....	10	29	27	77	121	126	1,818	1,328		53	134			
Morbourn	14	21	22	77	93	122	1,111	1,210		67	34			
Orton Longville.	38	51	53	197	264	224	4,038	3,788		186	241			
Washingley	16	21	21	95	133	88	1,409	1,310		77	190			
Water Newton ..	21	23	28	108	97	133	1,866	1,968		36	40			
Hurst, Old	17	38	38	116	162	166	1,205	1,334		165	96	1 4½	1 2½	0 1½
Wilton	30	55	58	213	257	267	2,242	2,091		149	231			

Widdington	28	36	38	156	212	216	1,886	1,954	90	88
Midloe	6	7	8	30	53	49	826	795	104	33
Paxton, Little ..	44	45	44	225	214	224	1,980	2,633	148	102
South Hoe	38	55	59	234	237	307	2,049	2,627	136	174
Tetworth	25	40	40	143	235	221	1,904	1,254	227	208
Toseland	17	36	44	99	204	230	1,321	1,275	74	75
Waresley	36	49	55	195	236	295	2,045	2,472	180	151
Giddings, Little ..	5	10	12	47	45	41	879	703	17	6
	702	1,038	1,139	4,185	5,419	5,788	59,035	58,710	4,020	3,562
Decrease or Increase in Annual Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 33 Years (1815-1848).										
Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801-1851).				Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801-1851).			Increase 38 per cent. Decrease 1 "			
87 per cent. 82 "				81 per cent. 38 "						
9 Town Parishes										
31 Close ditto ..										

After deducting the amounts given in these Appendices as the share of the Town and Close Parishes, from the total sums returned for the whole county, the residue is entered as the share of the Open Agricultural Parishes.

The property tax assessment is taken from Mr. Weale's report, and is, I believe, that of 1848.

Appendix (F.)
MR. PIGOTT'S PARISHES IN BUCKS, BERKS, AND OXFORD,
(Omitting Reading, which is analysed in Mr. d'Beckett's Report.)
 (SUMMARY.)

UNIONS.	No. of Parishes.	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound.		Reduction in the Pound.
		1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1842.		1815.	1847.	s. d.	s. d.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>															
Abingdon	10	1,553	2,387	2,494	8,363	11,194	12,226	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	
Amersham	5	1,068	1,715	1,787	5,844	9,021	8,046	31,748	58,197		6,835	4,800			
Aylesbury	14	935	1,657	1,740	5,650	7,881	7,805	24,064	34,139		5,172	3,808			
Bicester	9	904	1,478	1,562	4,870	7,201	7,465	40,375	45,463		5,582	5,081			
Buckingham	7	461	877	931	2,520	4,110	4,121	31,799	35,276		4,804	2,951			
Headington	7	604	1,390	1,520	3,056	6,904	7,599	19,013	21,805		2,602	2,753	3 9½	2 6½	1 3
Thame	13	1,600	2,514	2,577	8,696	12,267	12,292	53,009	55,283		2,396	3,032			
Winslow	5	528	847	1,049	2,884	4,320	5,056	18,762	21,226		10,307	10,356			
Wycombe	14	2,796	4,230	4,428	14,692	21,374	22,463	44,391	79,475		3,375	3,081			
	84	10,449	17,095	18,088	56,575	84,272	88,063	281,482	377,473	95,991	52,978	47,656			

ABINGDON UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for the Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Appleton & Eaton	63	106	117		540	£ 2,149	£ 3,351	£ 298	£ 222	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cumnor.....	125	205	203	702	1,058	1,048	8,272	598	481			
Draycott Moor..	20	53	57	141	238	272	1,588	112	137			
Kingston Bay ..	56	60	65	280	290	367	2,362	227	149			
Martham	144	102	175	607	805	845	4,086	858	352			
St. Helen	779	1,245	1,201	4,163	5,530	6,152	24,087	{ 2,860	{ 1,976	{ 4 3½	{ 1 7½	{ 2 8
St. Nicholas....	88	128	147	520	688	696		{ 453				
Steventon	101	160	183	537	948	978	5,548	405	376			
Sutton Court- ney (Berks). }	141	206	224	874	909	1,019	5,574	784	577			
Sutton Wick....	36	53	63	196	282	309	2,759	180	194			
	1,553	2,387	2,494	8,363	11,194	12,226	58,107	6,895	4,800			

AMERSHAM UNION.

	Inhabited Houses		Population		Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Amersham	397	660	685	2,314	3,645	3,662	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
							7,305	8,884	1,384	1,197		
Beaconsfield	240	339	345	1,149	1,732	1,684	5,924	6,897	1,464	745		
Chalfont, St. Giles	143	243	257	762	1,228	1,169	3,489	5,673	1,193	887		
Ditto, St. Peter's	192	302	309	1,174	1,483	1,432	5,256	7,280	750	742	4 2½	2 2½
												1 11½
Coleshill, (Berks and Bucks) ..	96	171	181	445	933	949	2,690	5,405	381	287		
	1,068	1,715	1,787	5,344	9,021	8,946	24,664	34,139	5,172	3,808		
								9,475				

AYLESBURY.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Buckland	30	109	129	288	537	662	1,456	1,617		299	277			
Chearsley	46	62	60	214	308	202	1,648	1,452		227	198			
Cublington	59	59	58	271	290	287	2,361	2,258		140	140			
Cuddington	84	135	131	435	626	623	2,127	2,646		535	512			
Grendon Under- wood.	47	84	92	285	384	427	2,484	2,156		324	285	2 9½	2 2½	0 6½
Hartwell	20	30	32	115	138	151	1,513	1,807		164	70			
Ludgershall	50	109	104	359	500	461	3,468	3,380		342	363			
Oving	34	89	100	257	391	442	1,536	1,986		335	358			
Quinton, Dere- ham, and Cloddershall }	147	199	206	750	966	854	3,454	5,810		No Return	(670)*			
Stone,	103	155	162	515	809	785	3,142	4,412		757	440			

BICESTER UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in	Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1849.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.
<i>Open Parishes :</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.
Caversfield	15	27	27	94	178	192	1,487	1,872		13	87		
Launton	56	138	162	372	619	706	5,294	4,381		509	381		
Fritwell.....	No return	121	123	306	524	514	3,080	2,450		325	154		
Islip	132	148	143	557	674	744	3,638	4,068		349	242		
Lower Hayford..	63	116	130	346	502	605	2,503	2,089		160	276	3 0½	1 8
Souldern	83	119	129	304	604	619	2,877	3,493		361	165		1 4½
Bicester.....	408	588	619	1,946	3,022	3,054	8,263	10,314		2,277	1,267		
Heath	38	86	92	262	380	418	1,077	1,078		114	110		
Bletchington....	109	135	137	503	688	673	3,580	4,411		686	269		
	904	1,478	1,562	4,870	7,201	7,465	31,799	35,276	3,477	4,804	2,951		

BUCKINGHAM UNION.

	Inhabited Houses		Population			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>													
Akeley	42	77	85	245	362	378	£ 1,354	£ 1,664	£ 191	£ 121	£	£	s. d.
Adstock	56	96	96	289	419	398	1,882	1,993	201	257			
Padbury	84	141	144	459	696	660	2,856	3,961	560	596			
Steeple Claydon	104	188	204	646	849	863	4,976	4,678	462	593	2 8½	2 6½	0 2½
Thornborough ..	64	103	164	458	762	754	3,188	3,544	458	534			
Leckhampstead ..	60	100	100	346	505	518	2,797	3,097	414	314			
Preston Bisset ..	73	109	118	322	517	554	1,960	2,953	227	408			
	461	877	931	2,520	4,110	4,121	19,013	21,805	2,602	2,753			
								2,882					

HEADINGTON UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes :</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Cowley	78	117	129	345	606	775	1,928	2,360		258	344			
Headington	130	299	326	669	1,668	1,653	4,148	5,615		657	548			
Ilfley	70	194	205	331	958	969	1,589	3,255		406	393			
Marston	43	85	91	264	306	471	3,013	2,984		266	298	2 8½	2 3½	0 5
St. Clement's ...	75	389	432	413	1,769	2,139	1,352	6,665		136	479			
Staunton St. John	54	102	117	349	510	555	3,486	3,080		336	415			
Wheatley	154	204	220	685	997	1,037	2,295	2,500		337	615			
	604	1,380	1,520	3,056	6,904	7,589	17,721	26,519	8,798	2,396	3,032			

Close Parishes:	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).						Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.	Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.
	59	79	81	318	345	352	989	1,592	7,699	6,610		
Beckley.....	50	79	81	318	345	352	989	1,592	265	239		
Cuddeston	54	65	68	244	305	337	2,241	1,861	339	263	2 1½	2 3½
Holton	47	52	52	238	289	244	3,419	2,176	174	205		
Wood Eaton	15	15	15	73	62	89	1,050	981	37	45		
	175	212	216	873	1,001	1,022			815	752		
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THAME UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>					£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Brill	190	313	850	1,449	5,124	5,025		680	1,089			
Long Crendon ..	205	397	991	1,656	4,423	5,046		1,403	1,205			
Chalgrove and } Rofford	119	141	518	691	3,641	3,292		544	546			
Ickford	45	83	271	386	1,969	2,262		276	217			
Aston Rowant ..	48	182	740	885	1,948	1,942		407	798			
Crowell	26	35	149	109	1,013	1,105		107	170			
Thame	436	608	2,238	3,060	9,520	8,510		3,109	2,538			
Towersey	51	93	294	413	1,597	2,132		397	220			
Milton (Great) ..	100	135	500	615	2,055	2,435		334	403	3 10½	3 9	0 1½
Milton (Little) ..	60	108	325	482	2,817	2,962		302	302			
Shabbington	33	68	184	366	3,198	3,662		414	540			
Sherburn	70	65	313	338	904	3,070		283	482			
Tetsworth	90	110	396	523	3,016	2,871		391	414			

WINSLOW UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Drayton Parlow	49	51	105	307	526	490	1,916	1,898		521	269			
Mursley	65	109	125	318	479	553	3,063	4,322		510	247			
North Marston ..	77	140	155	478	619	692	2,161	3,111		489	859	3 7½	2 10½	0 8½
Stewkley	118	253	306	680	1,202	1,432	6,341	6,263		801	867			
Winslow	219	294	358	1,101	1,434	1,889	4,681	5,682		1,054	839			
	582	847	1,049	2,884	4,320	5,056	18,762	21,226	2,464	3,375	3,081			

Close Parish:					Decrease								Increase in the Pound.	
	45	76	77	299	378	361	3,705	3,306	389	217	409	1 2		2 5½	1 3½
East Claydon. . .														
5 Open Parishes	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).				Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).				Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).				Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.	Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.
	99 per cent.				75 per cent.				.. 13 per cent.				s. d. 2 5½ 0 5	s. d. —
1 Close ditto . . .	71 "				75 "				Decrease 11 "					

WYCOMBE UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>												
Fingest	57	73	68	316	379	387	£ 900	1,329	£ 152	243		
Gt. Marlow	617	799	822	3,296	4,480	4,485	8,181	17,511	3,086	284		
Ibstone	48	69	62	258	347	310	807	854	166	202		
Radnage	58	82	88	306	401	433	884	1,386	331	300		
Stokenchurch (Oxon) }	154	283	289	811	1,334	1,492	3,002	4,579	612	753		
Turville	72	102	92	376	476	436	1,687	1,942	369	302		
Hughenden	129	290	315	887	1,481	1,541	2,183	3,341	1,403	1,274		
West Wycombe ..	257	392	385	1,330	2,002	2,000	4,898	7,933	1,027	1,088	5 4½	2 4½
Bradenham	33	41	33	170	226	188	1,385	1,425	200	107		
Woodburn	293	390	423	1,401	1,890	2,026	4,923	7,895	1,227	1,206		
Little Marlow ...	128	166	177	728	927	894	5,191	5,063	562	609		

WYCOMBE UNION.

	Inhabited Houses			Population			Value of Real Property assessed to Property Tax		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor		Reduction in the Pound.
	1861.	1841.	1851.	1861.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
<i>Wyches</i>	57	73	08	316	370	387	900	1,329		152	243			
<i>St. Martin</i>	611	789	822	3,280	4,480	4,485	8,181	17,511		3,080	284			
<i>Totton</i>	48	60	02	258	347	310	807	854		100	202			
<i>Radnage</i>	58	82	88	308	401	423	884	1,330		331	300			
<i>Mokescroft (Oxon)</i>	104	283	280	811	1,384	1,492	3,002	4,579		612	753			
<i>Weymouth</i>	72	102	02	376	470	430	1,007	1,042		309	302			
<i>Weymouth</i>	120	200	815	887	1,481	1,541	2,188	3,341		1,027	1,088	5 4½	2 11½	2 4½
<i>Weymouth</i>	257	302	885	1,380	2,002	2,000	4,808	7,883		1,403	1,274			
<i>Weymouth</i>	33	41	33	170	226	188	1,385	1,425		200	107			
<i>Weymouth</i>	203	300	488	1,401	1,880	2,026	4,023	7,885		1,237	1,206			
<i>Weymouth</i>	128	166	177	728	927	804	5,101	5,003		592	609			

	370	685	751	2,349	3,206	3,591	8,553	{ 14,598 9,241 }	1,075	1,805		
	448	652	690	1,899	3,184	3,588			1,326	1,485		
	132	206	233	635	1,011	1,142	1,787	2,428	419	336		
	9,736	4,230	4,428	14,632	21,374	22,468	44,391	79,475	11,905	11,794		
	30	46	37	140	194	183	670	1,710	97	99	3 8	2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
	44	66	86	339	415	423	2,138	3,461	392	356		1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
14 Open Parishes 2 Close ditto	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801-1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801-1851).		Increase in Value of Real Property assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815-1843).		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1815.		Excess in the Pound paid by Open Parishes in 1847.		Excess of Reduction in Open Parishes.	
	58 per cent. 95 "		53 per cent. 28 "		79 per cent. 62 "		s. d. 1 8 $\frac{1}{2}$		s. d. 0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$		s. d. 0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Netherton, North side	9	10	14	40	54	74	674	43
Nunykirk	3	4	3	7	17	24	120	9
Ryle, Little	11	8	5	50	42	21	617	18
Todburn	5	3	3	26	22	18	255	5
Hartley	344	421	381	1,639	1,911	1,637	4,095	610
Newsham, &c.	182	321	366	1,170	1,921	2,584	5,503	578
	1,028	1,349	1,379	5,353	6,925	7,651	32,698	2,119
23 Close Parishes	Increase of Inhabited Houses in 50 Years.		Increase of Population in 50 Years.		Average Rate of Close Parishes.....		s. d. 1 3½	
	34 per cent.		43 per cent.		Do. Whole County..		1 2½	
					Excess of Poor Rate paid by Close Parishes		0 1	

£

The Total Annual Value of Real Property in Northumberland, rated for the Relief } 1,246,474
of the Poor for the year ending April 1847, was - - - - - }

The amount expended for the Relief of the Poor in the year ending April, 1847, was 75,415

Appendix (H).
MR. HAWLEY'S OPEN PARISHES IN THE NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Increase in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1851.	1847.	
Ellingsstring	30	53	49		123	196	£ 538	£ 810		£ 88	£ 97	£ 88	£ 97	s. d.
Westhow (East) .	57	86	87	274	428	380	1,653	2,113		68	102	68	102	s. d.
Terrington.....	100	180	186	463	614	641	3,596	4,012		96	208	96	208	s. d.
Acklam	51	91	82	255	411	394	1,592	1,459		61	116	61	116	s. d.
Leavening (East)	41	90	101	176	494	447	1,848	1,715		30	77	30	77	s. d.
Dugglesby (East) .	18	35	51	83	226	294	1,661	1,321		51	81	51	81	s. d.
Burythorpe (East)	27	49	55	135	226	289	1,394	1,447		17	65	17	65	s. d.
Sheriff Hutton ..	108	202	297	597	955	994	5,000	5,501		273	389	273	389	s. d.

Huttons Ambro ..	75	90	91	390	408	498	3,388	3,448	139	246	0 11	1 04	0 14
	61	93	86	251	401	359	1,405	2,077					
Borrowby	33	40	48	134	175	203	1,504	1,203	41	39			
Sheeby	131	127	128	641	600	840	5,468	4,896	240	190			
Catterick	84	118	119	409	612	600	4,900	4,927	62	188			
Scalby	101	210	197	707	911	777	3,149	3,621	520	326			
Hutton	20	30	29	132	134	137	1,150	1,010	41	47			
Gt. Edstone	41	77	73	220	337	335	1,279	1,292	19	65			
Wombledon	1,088	1,530	1,534	5,060	7,068	7,979	39,519	41,617	1,814	2,183			
16 Open Parishes	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).						
	48 per cent.			42 per cent.			5 per cent.						

WYCOMBE UNION.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
<i>Open Parishes:</i>							£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Fingest	57	73	68	316	379	387	900	1,329		152	243			
Gt. Marlow	617	799	822	3,236	4,480	4,485	8,181	17,511		3,086	284			
Ibstone	48	69	62	258	347	310	807	854		166	202			
Radnage	58	82	88	306	401	433	884	1,386		331	300			
Stokenchurch { (Oxon)	154	283	289	811	1,334	1,492	3,002	4,579		612	753			
Turville	72	102	92	376	476	436	1,037	1,942		369	302			
Hughenden	129	290	315	887	1,481	1,541	2,183	3,341		1,027	1,088	5	4½	2 4½
West Wycombe..	257	392	385	1,330	2,002	2,000	4,808	7,933		1,403	1,274			
Bradenham	33	41	33	170	226	188	1,385	1,425		200	107			
Woodburn	263	390	423	1,401	1,830	2,026	4,923	7,895		1,227	1,206			
Little Marlow...	128	166	177	728	927	894	5,191	5,063		562	609			

Appendix (G.)

MR. HAWLEY'S NORTHUMBERLAND.

CLOSE PARISHES.	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Value of Real Property rated for the Relief of the Poor in 1815.	Annual rated for the Relief of the Poor in 1847.	Paid for Relief of Poor in 1847.	Rate in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.				
Boulmer, &c.....	18	25	24	110	153	149	£	£	£	s. d.
Eglingham.....	38	60	64	204	304	357		663	76	
Greens and Glenties	10	14	9	34	79	51		1,580	35	
Shillbottle	103	115	119	472	549	601		570	25	
Whittle	6	9	8	64	56	40		2,405	171	
Bamburgh Castle	12	8	6	60	59	50		519	21	
Shoreswood	48	54	71	247	315	428		159	16	
Twizell	5	6	7	37	45	46		1,489	141	
Wallbottle	98	154	157	462	683	782		823	25	
Rosedon	9	14	13	59	83	95		2,928	126	
Acombe, East	4	7	6	23	37	53		1,200	11	
Bywell.. { St. Peter's and { St. Andrew's }	40	36	34	199	192	176		436	0	
Slyford	22	15	13	111	104	84		466	51	1 3½
Morpeth Castle.....	30	34	36	137	145	171		1,560	14	
Spittle Hill	1	1	2	6	12	18		1,452	3	
Biddlestone	28	28	35	186	140	182		2,672	72	
Fairnley	2	2	3	15	12	20		2,137	69	
								142	..	

Netherton, North side	9	10	14	40	54	74	674	43	
Nunykirk	3	4	3	7	17	24	120	9	
Ryle, Little	11	8	5	50	42	21	617	18	
Todburn	5	3	3	26	22	18	255	5	
Hartley	344	421	381	1,639	1,911	1,627	4,065	610	
Newsham, &c.	182	321	366	1,170	1,921	2,584	5,503	578	
	1,028	1,349	1,379	5,358	6,925	7,651	32,698	2,119	
23 Close Parishes	Increase of Inhabited Houses in 50 Years.		Increase of Population in 50 Years.		Average Rate of Close Parishes.....				s. d. 1 3½
	34 per cent.		43 per cent.		Do. Whole County..				1 2½
					Excess of Poor Rate paid by Close Parishes				0 1

£

The Total Annual Value of Real Property in Northumberland, rated for the Relief
of the Poor for the year ending April 1847, was - - - } 1,246,474

The amount expended for the Relief of the Poor in the year ending April, 1847, was 75,415

Appendix (H).
MR. HAWLEY'S OPEN PARISHES IN THE NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.

	Inhabited Houses in			Population in			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Increase in the Pound.
	1801.	1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1848.		1815.	1847.	1851.	1847.	
Ellingstring	30	53	49		123	201	£ 538	£ 810		£ 88	£ 27	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Westhow (East) .	57	86	87	274	428	380	1,653	2,113		68	102			
Terrington	100	130	136	463	614	641	3,596	4,012		96	208			
Acklam	51	91	82	255	411	334	1,592	1,450		61	116			
Leavening (East)	41	90	101	176	434	447	1,848	1,715		30	77			
Dugglesby (East) .	18	35	51	93	226	294	1,661	1,321		51	81			
Burythorpe (East)	27	40	55	135	226	280	1,394	1,447		17	65			
Sheriff Hutton ..	108	202	297	597	955	994	5,000	5,501		273	339			

	75	90	91	980	408	498	3,383	3,449	139	246	0 11	1 04	0 14
Huttons Ambo ..													
Borrowby	61	93	86	251	401	359	1,405	2,077	62	70			
Slakeby	33	40	48	134	175	203	1,504	1,203	41	39			
Catterick	131	127	128	641	600	640	5,468	4,898	246	199			
Scalby	84	118	110	400	612	600	4,900	4,927	62	188			
Hutton	101	210	397	707	911	777	3,149	3,621	520	326			
Gt. Edstone	20	30	29	132	134	137	1,150	1,010	41	47			
Wombledon	41	77	73	220	337	335	1,279	1,232	19	65			
	1,038	1,530	1,534	5,060	7,068	7,679	39,519	41,617	1,814	2,186			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).						
16 Open Parishes	48 per cent.			42 per cent.			5 per cent.						

MR. HAWLEY'S CLOSE PARISHES IN '

NOTES FROM THE CENSUS OF 1851.

Scarborough District.

"The decrease of population in various townships in this district, since 1841, arises from emigration beyond seas, and removals to other places in search of employment, caused by the *depression of the agricultural interest*"

Scarborough dist.

Suffield cum

Weston Sub-district.

"*Agricultural depression* and the removal of cottages is assigned as the cause of decreased population in the Weston sub-district.

"(The cottages in this sub-district were, in 1841, 559, and increased in 1851 to 612, so that this is not intelligible)"

Weston sub-dist.

{ Wharran Pe
Howsham .
Eddlethorpe
Birdsale (Pa

Helmsley District.

"In the Helmsley district the decrease of population generally is attributed to emigration beyond seas, and emigration into other localities, in consequence of the depressed state of agriculture, and the *closing of collieries*"

Helmsley dist. ..

{ Little Eoston
North Holm
Aryholme &
thorpe ...
Thornton Be
Mildon Gra
Morton(ext.
Sittenham .
Kingthorpe .

Bulmer sub-dist.

Pickering ditto ..

Hutton Sub-district.

"*The stoppage of a flax mill* since 1841 has caused the hands to emigrate in search of employment" ..

Hutton ditto

Sexhow ..

Northallerton District.

"The decrease of population in various parts of Northallerton district is ascribed to depression in the *linen trade*, which has caused emigration beyond seas, and the removal of many families to more prosperous localities"

Northallerton dist.

Crosby

Bedale dist.

Killerby ..

Leyburn District.

"The census of East Witton Without being taken at the time of farms changing hands, causes a slight decrease of population to be shown in the returns, the old tenants having left and the new ones not taking possession till the 5th of April. In other parts of Leyburn district, I find that "*farm labour is on the decrease*"—*slate quarries* have stopped working—want of employment—a *cotton mill has been discontinued*—also, inhabitants absent in search of employment"

Leyburn dist.

{ Witton(East
Hutton Han
Akebar....

Richmond District.

"Many labourers have left part of this district on account of the *depreciated state of the agricultural interest*"

Richmond dist. ..

Easby

Stokesley dist. ..

Hemlington

NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.

Houses		Population			Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.	Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Reduction in the Pound.
1841.	1851.	1801.	1841.	1851.	1815.	1843.		1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	
21	20	110	132	146	£ 1,447	£ 1,421	£	£ 31	£ 32	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
3	25	38	35	171	1,612	1,440	....	44	45			
41	37	203	219	194	2,600	2,044	....	133	97			
11	11	57	73	49	1,687	2,265	....	24	15			
35	39	234	267	282	4,090	4,133	....	81	126			
2	2	12	15	15	231	383		10				
2	2	16	19	15	757	774	....	31	4			
4	4	31	36	35	454	349	....	11	9			
11	11	71	78	94	1,666	2,160	....	61	33			
4	3	28	21	21	..	..	....	..	(22)			
5	5	40	31	33								
10	10	77	92	88	2,082	1,893	....	95	47			
6	6	37	52	52	1,115	878	....	57	38			
6	6	44	33	35	783	562	....	55	22			
										0 10	0 6½	0 3½
5	5	39	37	29	..	(641)	....	(53)	(44)			
10	10	56	62	54	..	..	....	(5)	(8)			
57	51	294	297	285	3,282	3,617	....	367	165			
6	6	34	43	29	..	..	....	(22)	..			
4	5	29	30	37	..	..	....	(19)	..			
15	20	85	105	114	2,644	2,117	....	36	37			
15	15	58	71	97	1,469	789	....	60	26			
273	293	1,591	1,748	1,875	26,009	25,725	....	1,096	696			
Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).		Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase or Decrease in Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).							
per cent.		18 per cent.			Decrease 1 per cent.							

Appendix (I.)
 Rates in the POUND paid by each County in 1815 and 1851, calculated on Annual Value of Real Property assessed to
 Property Tax.

COUNTIES.	Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase per Cent.	Expended for the Relief of Poor in		Increase per Cent.	Rate in the Pound paid for the Relief of the Poor.	Rate in the Pound paid for the Relief of the Poor.	Reduction of Rate in the Pound.
	1815.	1851.		1815.	1851.		1815.	1851.	
1. Sussex	£ 915,348	£ 1,795,721	96	£ 230,865	£ 134,526	42	5 0½	1 6	3 6½
2. Kent	1,644,179	3,152,173	92	295,280	187,304	37	3 7	1 2½	2 4½
3. Bucks	644,129	875,350	36	101,814	71,175	30	3 2	1 7½	1 6½
4. Berks	652,082	977,386	50	100,206	73,968	28	3 1	1 6	1 7
5. Oxford	713,147	1,012,363	42	106,404	72,326	32	2 11½	1 5½	1 6½
6. Bedford	343,682	506,029	65	50,370	39,729	21	2 11½	1 5	1 6½
7. Essex	1,556,836	1,961,308	26	226,252	156,716	31	2 11	1 7	1 4
8. Southampton	1,130,951	1,820,310	61	163,149	148,335	9	2 10½	1 7½	1 3½
9. Suffolk	1,127,464	1,834,252	63	155,289	131,952	15	2 9	1 5½	1 3½
10. Hertford	571,107	870,179	52	77,991	61,391	21	2 8½	1 5	1 3½
11. Northampton	942,161	1,297,200	38	123,038	94,384	31	2 7½	1 3½	1 3½
12. Norfolk	1,540,852	2,463,868	60	199,191	179,240	10	2 7	1 5½	1 1½
13. Surrey	1,579,172	3,964,049	150	201,645	210,694	4½	2 6½	1 0½	1 6
14. Wilts	1,155,458	1,474,625	28	137,626	123,225	12	2 4½	1 8	0 8½
15. Hereford	604,614	816,336	35	67,063	42,903	36	2 2½	1 0½	1 2
16. Dorset	698,305	970,858	39	75,677	77,087	1½	2 2	1 7	0 7
17. Leicester	902,217	1,364,270	51	95,199	62,201	31	2 1½	0 11½	1 1½
18. Worcester	799,695	1,437,746	72	89,289	69,008	22	2 1	0 12½	1 3½

19. Warwick	1,296,726	2,430,861	97	127,684	94,154	14	26	2 0½	0 9½	1 3½
20. Cambridge.....	655,220	1,138,314	74	65,950	75,147			2 0½	1 4	0 8½
21. Durham	701,359	1,679,998	112	78,725	68,570		13	2 0	0 9½	1 2½
22. Huntingdon	320,187	389,677	22	31,469	25,466		19	1 11½	1 3½	0 7½
23. Devon	1,897,515	2,736,361	44	183,645	182,993		½	1 11½	1 4	0 7½
24. Nottingham	737,229	1,198,843	63	71,419	57,128		20	1 11½	0 11½	0 11½
25. Stafford	1,150,284	2,893,602	146	171,642	101,356		9	1 11½	0 8½	1 2½
26. Chester	1,083,083	2,062,283	90	100,689	79,442		21	1 10½	0 9½	1 1½
27. Gloucester	1,403,259	2,235,627	53	135,579	143,358	9½		1 10½	1 4	0 6½
28. Monmouth.....	295,097	710,733	144	27,049	34,915	29		1 10	0 11½	0 10½
29. Middlesex	5,595,536	13,867,829	148	585,601	530,062	5		1 9½	0 9½	1 0½
30. Salop	1,037,988	1,563,311	51	90,839	55,584		39	1 9	0 8½	1 0½
31. Cornwall	916,060	1,349,959	47	73,090	77,740		½	1 8½	1 1½	0 6½
32. York	4,727,982	8,180,661	73	398,596	364,984		8	1 8½	0 10½	0 9½
33. Rutland	133,487	160,284	20	10,843	7,197		34	1 7½	0 10½	0 8½
34. Derby	887,659	1,969,550	125	72,179	49,874		31	1 7½	0 6	1 1½
35. Somerset	1,900,651	3,111,703	64	150,257	162,671	8		1 7	1 0½	0 6½
36. Lancaster	3,087,774	8,640,695	180	213,046	365,767	11½		1 4½	0 10½	0 6½
37. Westmoreland	298,198	353,032	18	20,319	14,785		27	1 4½	0 10	0 6½
38. Lincoln	2,031,830	3,009,456	46	128,359	122,477		4½	1 3	0 9½	0 5½
39. Cumberland	705,445	963,077	37	40,915	30,111		4	1 2	0 9½	0 4½
40. Northumberland ..	1,240,594	1,560,876	26	69,935	84,243	21½		1 1½	1 1	0 0½

Appendix (K.)

TABLE showing the Progress of the English Poor's RATE as far as it can be obtained.

	Annual Value of Real Property.	AUTHORITIES.	Paid for the Relief of Poor.	AUTHORITIES.	Rate in the Pound paid for Relief of Poor.
			£		s. d.
1650	.. ..	.. ..	189,000	{ Ruggles, Eden, Darker, Coode.	
1652	} .. ..	.. ..	168,720	{ A Devonshire Magistrate, quoted by Coode.	
1657					
1662					
1677	14,580,000	{ Estimated by Andrew Yarranton }	700,000	Andrew Yarranton (Eden)	0 11½
1680	.. ..	.. ..	665,362	{ Estimated by Gregory King. Appendix (Eden & Coode).	
1693	13,000,000	Gregory King			
1698	.. ..	{ Davenant (Appendix) }	{ 819,000	Ruggles, Dunning, Coode.	1 3
1721	.. ..	.. ..	1,000,000	{ Eden, vol. 1, 264. Leslie's Divine Right of Tythes.	
1748	} .. ..	.. ..	*689,971	{ An estimate deduced from some very imperfect returns made to par- liament.	
1749					
1750					
1764	.. ..	.. ..	1,200,000	Wendeborn.	
1776	.. ..	.. ..	1,556,804	Parliamentary returns.	
1783	} .. ..	.. ..	2,004,238	{ Parliamentary returns. Average of three years.	
1784					
1785					
1795	.. ..	.. ..	3,000,000	Eden.	
1801	.. ..	.. ..	4,017,871	Parliamentary returns.	
		(Population.)			
1803	38,000,000	9,276,988	4,267,965	Parliamentary returns.	2 3
1811	46,340,052	10,370,917	6,656,105	Parliamentary returns.	2 10½

* The late Mr. Sadlier introduces a long argument into his work on Ireland to show that this estimate is, in all probability, far too low.

Appendix (K.)—Continued.

Years.	Population (Census of 1851).	Rate per Head of Expendi- ture for Relief on the Population.	Annual Value of Real Property.	Amount of Money expended in the Relief of the Poor.	Rate in the Pound paid for Relief of the Poor.	Average.	
1813	10,685,475	<i>s. d.</i> 12 5½	£ 49,119,238	£ 6,656,106	<i>s. d.</i> 2 8½	10 Years <i>s. d.</i> 2 5½	7½ Reduction.
1814	10,862,069	11 7	50,508,831	6,294,581	2 6		
1815	11,017,071	9 10	51,898,423	5,418,846	2 1		
1816	11,220,727	10 2½	53,109,291	5,724,839	2 2		
1817	11,392,217	12 1½	54,320,159	6,910,925	2 6½		
1818	11,574,955	13 7½	55,531,027	7,870,801	2 10		
1819	11,737,501	12 9¾	56,741,895	7,516,704	2 8		
1820	11,902,463	12 3½	57,952,763	7,330,254	2 6¼		
1821	12,089,049	11 6½	59,163,631	6,959,251	2 4½		
1822	12,297,109	10 4	60,374,499	6,358,704	2 1¼		
1823	12,518,541	9 2¾	61,585,367	5,772,962	1 10½	12 Years <i>s. d.</i> 1 10¼	8¼ Reduction.
1824	12,711,063	9 0½	62,796,235	5,736,900	1 10		
1825	12,896,616	8 11¼	64,007,103	5,786,989	1 9¾		
1826	13,071,346	9 0½	65,217,971	5,928,502	1 9¾		
1827	13,234,707	9 9½	66,428,839	6,441,088	1 11¼		
1828	13,412,967	9 4¾	67,639,707	6,298,000	1 10¼		
1829	13,612,739	9 3½	68,850,575	6,332,410	1 10		
1830	13,781,747	9 11	70,061,443	6,829,042	1 11½		
1831	13,968,370	9 8¾	71,272,311	6,798,889	1 11		
1832	14,156,227	9 11¼	72,483,179	7,036,969	1 11½		
1833	14,308,841	9 6	73,694,047	6,790,800	1 10	17 Years <i>s. d.</i> 1 2	
1834	14,495,019	8 8½	74,904,915	6,317,255	1 8¼		
1835	14,703,735	7 6¼	76,115,783	5,526,418	1 5½		
1836	14,913,794	6 4	77,326,651	4,717,630	1 2¼		
1837	15,123,804	5 4½	78,537,519	4,044,741	1 0½		
1838	15,275,638	5 4¾	79,748,387	4,123,604	1 0½		
1839	15,502,888	5 8	80,959,255	4,406,907	1 1		
1840	15,739,994	5 9¾	82,170,123	4,576,965	1 1¼		
1841	15,947,249	5 11¾	83,380,991	4,760,929	1 1¾		
1842	16,148,598	6 1	84,591,859	4,911,498	1 2		
1843	16,349,822	6 4½	85,802,734	5,208,027	1 2½	1 2	
1844	16,566,238	6 0	85,700,123	4,976,093	1 2		
1845	16,786,194	6 0	86,573,636	5,039,703	1 2		
1846	17,018,600	5 9½	88,724,253	4,954,204	1 1¼		
1847	17,236,817	6 1½	89,759,066	5,298,787	1 2¼		
1848	17,376,386	7 1½	91,172,471	6,180,764	1 4¼		
1849	17,571,744	6 7	94,538,472	5,792,963	1 2¾		
1850	17,735,871	6 1	94,217,959	5,395,022	1 1¾		
1851	18,004,551	5 6¼	94,801,969	4,902,702	1 0½		

An approximation to the Annual Value of Real Property between 1815 and 1843 has been obtained by dividing equally the difference between the sums, assessed to the Property Tax in those years, over the whole period; the other years are from Parliamentary returns. The population of the years between the different censuses are calculated in the same manner at the Registrar General's Office.

Netherton, North side	9	10	14	40	54	74	674	43
Nunykirk	3	4	3	7	17	24	120	9
Ryle, Little	11	8	5	50	42	21	617	18
Todburn	5	3	3	26	22	18	255	5
Hartley	344	421	381	1,689	1,911	1,627	4,095	610
Newsham, &c.	182	321	366	1,170	1,921	2,584	5,503	578
	1,028	1,349	1,379	5,358	6,925	7,651	32,638	2,119
23 Close Parishes	Increase of Inhabited Houses in 50 Years.		Increase of Population in 50 Years.		Average Rate of Close Parishes.....			
	34 per cent.		43 per cent.		Do. Whole County..			
					Excess of Poor Rate paid by Close Parishes			
					s. d. 1 3½			
					1 2½			
					0 1			

The Total Annual Value of Real Property in Northumberland, rated for the Relief
of the Poor for the year ending April 1847, was - - - - - } 1,246,474

The amount expended for the Relief of the Poor in the year ending April, 1847, was 75,415

Appendix (H).

MR. HAWLEY'S OPEN PARISHES IN THE NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.

	Inhabited Houses in		Population in		Annual Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in		Increase in Annual Value.		Paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Rate in the Pound paid for Maintenance of the Poor in		Increase in the Pound.	
	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1801.	1841.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.	1815.	1847.
Ellingstring	30	53	49	123	186	201	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Westhow (East) .	57	86	87	274	428	390	1,553	2,113	68	102	68	102	68	102
Terrington.....	100	130	136	463	614	641	3,596	4,012	96	208	96	208	96	208
Acklam	51	91	82	255	411	384	1,592	1,450	61	116	61	116	61	116
Leavening (East)	41	99	101	176	434	447	1,848	1,715	30	77	30	77	30	77
Dugglesby (East) .	18	35	51	93	226	294	1,861	1,321	51	81	51	81	51	81
Burythorpe (East)	27	49	55	135	226	289	1,394	1,447	17	65	17	65	17	65
Sheriff Hutton ..	108	202	297	597	955	994	5,000	5,501	273	339	273	339	273	339

	75	90	91	390	408	438	3,382	3,448	130	246	0 11	1 01	0 11
Huttons Ambo ..													
Borrowby	61	93	86	251	401	359	1,405	2,077	62	70			
Slakeby	33	40	48	134	175	203	1,504	1,203	41	39			
Catterick	131	127	128	641	600	640	5,468	4,896	246	199			
Scalby	84	118	119	409	612	600	4,900	4,927	62	188			
Hutton	161	210	197	707	911	777	3,149	3,621	520	326			
Gt. Edystone	20	30	29	132	134	137	1,150	1,010	41	47			
Wombledon	41	77	73	229	337	356	1,279	1,292	19	65			
	3,088	1,530	1,534	5,060	7,068	7,679	39,519	41,617	1,814	2,183			
	Increase of Houses in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase of Population in 50 Years (1801—1851).			Increase in Value of Real Property as assessed to the Property Tax in 28 Years (1815—1843).						
16 Open Parishes	48 per cent.			42 per cent.			5 per cent.						

Appendix (L.)
CERTAIN TOWN DISTRICTS REFERRED TO BY MR. CHADWICK.

	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture in 1801.	Total Population in 1801.	Total Population in 1841.	Cattle Dealers.	Farm Bailiffs and Land Stewards.	Farmers, Graziers, and Yeomen.	Labourers, Men, Women, and Children.	Land Agents.	Pig Dealers.	Surveyor: (Land) (Road) (Timber).	Thatchers.
Bedford.....	84	3,948	9,178	2	1	16	129	0	1	1	0
Reading.....	408	9,770	16,937	6	3	11	126	0	0	2	0
Buckingham.....	194	2,805	4,054	0	0	22	271	1	0	0	0
Exeter.....	183	17,398	31,312	1	3	23	160	1	1	3	7
Devonport.....	760	27,154	43,532	0	0	23	74	0	0	4	1
Plymouth.....	103	16,040	36,527	1	1	32	114	0	0	0	0
Tiverton.....	1,089	6,505	10,040	1	0	158	454	0	3	1	14
Bristol (including Barton Regis).	113	40,814	122,206	20	6	153	498	2	25	9	2
Gloucester.....	93	7,579	14,152	0	0	13	98	1	0	5	0
Cheltenham.....	284	3,076	31,411	3	6	40	266	1	3	1	0
Bradford.....	424	7,302	10,563	3	2	118	683	1	0	3	7
Salisbury, City.....	42	7,668	10,086	0	0	3	24	3	1	1	1
Newbridge.....	20	5,739	11,050	0	1	30	139	0	0	0	1
Boston.....	91	5,926	12,942	2	0	85	247	0	0	0	0
Stamford.....	106	4,022	6,385	0	0	12	113	0	0	0	0
Lincoln.....	718	7,398	16,172	2	2	97	763	2	0	0	0
Total of Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture in 1801.....	4,772	179,004	388,037	41	25	636	4,159	12	34	30	33
Ditto, ditto, in 1841, as here shown.....	5,170										

NOTE.—The Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture are placed under one head in the Census of 1801. The classes I have taken out of that of 1841, must, I think, correspond with them.

Appendix (M.)—(*Referred to at p. 16 of second Part*).

PARISHES selected to show that Property was in danger of being destroyed by the Poor's Rates, in 1823, probably among the highest rated Parishes in England.

(*From the Report of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry, pp. 64 to 66.*)

STATEMENTS MADE IN THE REPORT.						
	Rateable Value of Real Property as Assessed to the Property Tax in		Estimated Annual Value of Real Property in	Probable Rate in the Pound in 1832. Calculated on the last.	Amount Paid for Relief of Poor in 1832.	
	1815.	1843.	1829.	s. d.	£	
<i>Cambridge.</i>						
Little Gransden	£ 1,361	£ 1,723	£ 1,542	1 7½	123	Mr. Geunten had a farm for which he could not get 5s. an acre.
Tadlow	1,284	1,486	1,385	2 6	173	
East Hatley	1,163	800	982	1 4½	66	Men of substance could not be obtained even by lowering the rents to an extreme point.
Croydon-cum-Clapton ..	2,274	1,184	1,729	3 8	318	
Gamlingay	2,945	5,377	4,161	6 6½	1,356	A total absorption of the land in 10 or 12 years was anticipated. The same result was expected to take place in 10 years.
Soham	14,020	26,204	20,112	2 1½	2,111	
Great Shelford	1,037	3,914	2,925	6 7½	969	

<i>Leicester.</i>						
Hinckley	11,672	16,092	14,182	6 0½	4,292	Poor's rates exceeded £1 per acre.
Wigston Magna	6,123	7,964	7,043	6 4½	2,344	{ Value of property fell half between 1820 and 1832, on account of the poor's rates.
<i>Bucks.</i>						
Thornborough	3,188	3,544	3,366	5 9½	972	{ 600 acres unoccupied, most of the other tenants going on account of the poor's rates.
Cholesbury	220	320	270	14 2½	192	{ Parish consists of 176 acres, all but 16 of which were abandoned.
Adstock	1,892	1,992	1,937	7 6	726	{ The owners will not cultivate untenanted farms for fear of the rates.
Sherrington	3,121	3,390	3,255	4 0½	656	The same as the last.
<i>Kent.</i>						
Gillingham	11,765	20,494	16,129	3 4½	2,703	The whole rent will very soon be absorbed in the poor's rates.
Minster	8,949	14,137	11,543	.. ..	.. ..	Farms unlet from the pressure of the poor's rate.
Lenham	7,410	9,800	8,650	8 11½	3,872	Some of the land was out of cultivation.
<i>Sussex.</i>						
Ardingley	2,292	3,413	2,852	8 2½	1,175	{ The eighteen-penny children will eat up this parish in 10 years.
Westfield	3,390	4,556	3,973	8 6	1,089	

In this Appendix the rates in the pound in 1832 are calculated on an estimated rental for 1820, being a mean sum between the annual value of real property as assessed to the property tax in the years ending April 1815 and 1843.

Appendix (N.)

POPULOUS PARISHES that have decreased in Inhabited Houses or
Population between 1841 and 1851.

WILTSHIRE.

Wroughton.	Devizes (both parishes).
Corsham.	Melksham
Chippenham.	Trowbridge.
Calne.	Great Bradford.
Bremhill.	Winsley.
Laycock.	Westbury.
Bishop's-Cannings.	Warminster.
Urchfont.	Heytesbury.
Purton.	Burbage.
Cricklade.	Amesbury.
Brinkworth.	Salisbury (all three parishes).
Colerne.	Donhead, St. Andrew.
Christian-Malford.	Mere (town and parish).

DORSETSHIRE.

Shaftesbury.	Netherbury.
Sturminster.	Beaminster.
Corfe Castle.	Burton Bradstock.
Wyke Regis.	Bridport.
Abbotsbury.	Whitchurch Canonieorum.
Broadwinsor.	Thorncombe.

DEVONSHIRE.

Axminster.	Moreton-Hampstead.
Chardstock.	Ashburton.
Stockland.	Brixham.
Honiton.	Dartmouth.
Ottertton.	Townstall.
Topsham.	Totnes.
Kenton.	Buckfastleigh.
Chudleigh.	Harberton.

DEVONSHIRE—continued.

Blackawton.	Silverton.
Stokenham.	Cullompton.
Modbury.	Halberton.
Holbeton.	Bishop's-Nympton.
Plymstock.	Witheridge.
Ermington.	Northmolton.
Lifton.	Chittlehampton.
Hatherleigh.	Swimbridge.
Okehampton.	Tawstock.
South Tawton.	Winkleigh.
Chagford.	Shebbear.
Morchard-Bishop.	Great Torrington.
Crediton.	Hartland.
Sandford.	Holsworthy.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Wiveliscombe.	Chewton-Mendip.
Milverton.	Wookey.
North Curry.	Glastonbury.
Stoke St. Gregory.	Wedmore.
Huntspill.	Axbridge.
Ilminster.	Cheddar.
Chard.	Timsbury.
Crewkerne.	Tiverton.
South Petherton.	Bath.
Ilchester.	Bathford.
Castle Cary.	Bath-Easton.
Wincanton.	Bitton.
Bruton.	Long Ashton.
Nunney.	Nailsea.
Evercreech.	Yatton.
Shepton-Mallet.	Easton-in-Gordano.

THE END.

THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM

versus

CENTRALIZATION.

PART II.

EFFECTS OF
SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL,
ON THE POOR;
REMARKS ON UNION RATING.

Second Edition.

BY

F. W. KNIGHT, Esq. M.P.

(LATE SECRETARY TO THE POOR LAW BOARD.)



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- 1st. That the establishment of a practical Poor Law for the support of the English poor was first accomplished by the Settlement Law of the 13 & 14 of Car. II. (p. 25).
- 2nd. That the right of destitute persons to relief or employment had been established 90 years previously (14 Eliz.), but had failed in checking the increase of pauperism or in preserving the poor from starvation; since owners of property had had the option, either—
 - 1st. Of maintaining destitute persons:
 - 2nd. Of employing them: or
 - 3rd. Of driving them away—(clearing them):and since, the third plan had been the favourite one.
- 3rd. That the operation of the Law of Settlement (13 & 14 Car. II.) left to owners of property only the alternatives of *maintaining* or *employing* destitute persons, but that the repeal of the Law of Settlement would restore the third alternative—that of *driving them*. (p. 50).
- 4th. That the attempt to repeal the Law of Settlement is, in fact, the struggle of property to shake off the just burden of maintaining the poor; and that it has been chiefly urged by those who advocate extreme harshness and severity in the administration of the Poor Laws (p. 40).
- 5th. That the Poor Laws have long been the chief foundation of the tranquillity of the poorer classes in England, as compared with those of most of the continental nations, and that they cannot be seriously interfered with without very great danger to property and society (p. 3).
- 6th. That neighbourhoods are the natural and only proper areas of chargeability. That no Poor Law has ever been successful in which the principle of widely extended areas of rating has been recognized, and that all arguments in its favour are therefore theoretical; while our own islands supply repeated instances of its trial and signal failure (p. 73).

CHAPTER I.

POOR LAW PRINCIPLES.

The Enforcement of the natural Claim of the Poor to Relief is the sole Principle of every Poor Law.

The following extract from Dr. Paley's Moral Philosophy gives in a few words the history of that claim :—

“The poor have a claim founded in the law of nature, which
“may be thus explained. All things were originally common.
“No one being able to produce a charter from heaven, had any
“better title to a particular possession than his next neighbour.
“There were reasons for mankind's agreeing upon a separation of
“this common fund; and God for these reasons is presumed to
“have ratified it. But this separation was made and consented to
“upon the expectation and condition that every one should have
“left *a sufficiency for his subsistence, or the means of procuring it* ;
“and as no fixed laws for the regulation of property can be so con-
“trived, so as to provide for the relief of every case and distress
“which may arise, these cases and distresses, when their right and
“share in the common stock was given up or taken from them,
“were supposed to be left to the voluntary bounty of those who
“might be acquainted with the exigencies of their situation, and
“in the way of affording assistance. And therefore, *when the*
“*partition of property is rigidly maintained against the claims of*
“*indigence and distress*, it is maintained in opposition to the in-
“tention of those who made it, and to His, who is the Supreme
“Proprietor of every thing, and who has filled the world with
“plenteousness for the sustentation and comfort of all whom he
“sends into it.”

Among savage tribes, hospitality and charity are the most
honoured and the most indispensable, and consequently the most
universal virtues. No man does not feel, that within a few months
he may be himself in want of the charity he now dispenses.

Among a settled civilized population abounding with persons who can foresee no possibility of their being at any time dependent on others for support, this principle of action is lost.

Experience shows that the voluntary concurrence of such persons, in any sufficient measure for the relief of the indigent, cannot be obtained. An endeavour to provide as far as possible by law against this deficiency constitutes a poor law. Our English poor law legalizes the poor man's natural claim to "a sufficiency for his subsistence, or the means of procuring it." No law can fix the amount and condition of relief that each individual case of distress has a right to claim. Our parochial system, by an approximation to the natural principle of family support, assigns this duty to the bounty of the poor man's immediate neighbours, to those natural guardians who may be best acquainted with the exigency of his situation, and from whose property such relief is directly contributed.

There is another consideration which must not be overlooked, viz. :—

The Expediency of a Poor Law.

If a number of persons, able-bodied or otherwise, are destitute, they must either,

1st. Perish from want, or

2nd. Quarter themselves on the society that rejects them, as thieves, vagrants, beggars, poachers, swindlers, or prostitutes.

Such an abuse of the rights and duties of property as forces these alternatives on the poor, is in itself a greater wrong than any that it may cause its victims to commit.

The chief cause of the communism that unsettles the populations and endangers the governments of several of the great countries of Europe, is that those governments "*rigidly maintain the partition of property against the claims of indigence and distress,*" against the natural claims of the people to a "*sufficiency for their subsistence or the means of procuring it.*"

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTS OF THE ENGLISH POOR LAWS.

43rd of Elizabeth, c. 2, and 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12.

The assertion, that the English people have been pauperized by the action of the poor laws, is the reverse of the fact.

"*Pauper ubique jacet!*" was the frequent exclamation of Queen Elizabeth, on beholding the pauperized and starving thousands that crowded around her in her progresses through the country. It has been my lot to witness the well-fed, well-dressed, and cheerful crowds that collect to hail the presence of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria on similar occasions.

No enthusiast in political economy would be mad enough to point to such an assembly, and to assure Her Majesty that the people she saw before her had been pauperized by the action of the poor laws.

The following extract, showing the condition of the people in the reign of Elizabeth, is taken from the admirable work of Sir Frederic Eden, vol. i. p. 111:—

Speaking of vagabondage, Harrison assures us that even in Elizabeth's reign "rogues were trussed up apace," so that there was not "one year commonly wherein 800 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten up by the gallows." This account of the disorderly state of the kingdom is strongly corroborated by a statement preserved in Strype, which was written by an eminent justice of the peace in Somersetshire, in the year 1596, five years before the memorable Act for the relief of the poor. He says that "the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch of their sheepfolds, pastures, woods and corn-fields—that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire, and many of them were even in a worse—that there were at least 300 or 400 able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes went in troops, to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants. That if all the felons of this kind were reduced to good subjection, they would form a strong army, and that the magistrates were awed, by the associations and the threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders."

"*Pauper ubique jacet!*" must have been the first feeling of Charles II. on his restoration to the English throne. The existing poor law (43rd Elizabeth) had proved, during sixty years, utterly inefficient to stop the increase of pauperism, clearances, vagabond-

ism, disorder, and even the actual perishing of the poor for want. The attention of the restored monarch, and his ministers, was early and forcibly directed to this miserable condition of the poorer classes.

Effects on the Condition of the Poor.

I shall take very shortly the account given of the poor in the preamble of the Settlement Act (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12), which was passed two years after the Restoration, and compare it with the last authentic account of the condition of the English poor. The preamble runs thus, "Whereas the necessity, numbers, and *" continual increase of the poor, not only within the cities of London* " and Westminster, but also *through the whole kingdom of England* " and *dominion of Wales*, is very great and exceeding burdensome, " being occasioned by reason of some defect in the law concerning " the settling of the poor, and for want of a due provision of the " regulations of relief and employment in such parishes and places " where they are legally settled, which doth enforce many to turn " incorrigible rogues, and *others to perish for want*, together with " the neglect of the faithful execution of such laws and statutes as " have formerly been made for the apprehending of rogues and " vagabonds, and for the good of the poor. For remedy thereof, " *and for the preventing the perishing of any of the poor, whether* " *old or young, for want of such supplies as are necessary*, may it " please your excellent Majesty," &c. &c.

We have here a concise and most lamentable account of that condition of the people, that rendered it necessary to give them the protection of a settlement law. I shall next give an extract from an official work, published by Mr. N. W. Senior, in his capacity of Commissioner of Poor Law Inquiry, "being the preface " to the foreign Communications contained in the Appendix to the " Poor Law Report," it is dated 1835. .

After a careful *resumé* of the answers received to different questions relating to the state of the labouring classes, which had been addressed to all parts of the world, Mr. Senior says:—

" On comparing these statements respecting the wages, subsistence, and mortality of those portions of continental Europe " which have furnished returns, with the corresponding statements " respecting England, it will be found that in every point England stands in the most favourable, or nearly the most favourable " position. With respect to money wages, the superiority of the " English agricultural labourer is very marked. It may fairly be " said, that his wages are nearly double the average of agricultural " wages on the continent. And as fuel is generally cheaper in " England than on the continent, and clothing is universally so,

“ his relative advantage with respect to these important objects of consumption is still greater.

“ On the other hand, as food is dearer in England* than in any other part of Europe, the English labourer, especially if he have a large family, necessarily loses on this part of his expenditure a part of the benefit of his higher wages, and, if the relative dear-ness of food were very great, might lose the whole. On com-paring, however, the answers to the 14th English and 8th foreign question, it appears probable, that even in this respect the English family has an advantage, though, of course, less than in any other. Of the 687 English parishes which have given an answer, from which the diet of the family can be inferred, 491, or about five-sevenths, state, that it could obtain meat; and of the 196, which give answers implying that it could not get meat, forty-three are comprised in Essex and Sussex, two of the most pauperized districts in the kingdom. But in the foreign answers meat is the exception instead of the rule. In the north of Europe the usual food seems to be potatoes and oatmeal, or rye bread, accompanied frequently by fish, but only occasion-ally by meat.

“ In Germany and Holland, the principal food appears to be rye bread, vegetables, the produce of the dairy, and meat once or twice a week.

“ In Belgium, potatoes, rye bread, milk, butter, and cheese, and occasionally pork.

“ The French returns almost exclude fresh meat, and indicate a small proportion of salted meat. Their food in Piedmont is said to be the simplest and coarsest; no meat, and twice as much maize flour as wheat flour.

“ In Portugal, salt fish, vegetable soup, with oil or lard, and maize bread.”

“ Further evidence as to the relative state of the bulk of the po-pulation of England is afforded by the ratio of its mortality.

“ The only countries in which the *mortality* appears to be so small as England are Norway, in which it is one-fifty-fourth, and the Basses Pyrenées, in which it is one-fiftieth. In all the other countries which have given returns, it *exceeds the English proportion, sometimes by doubling it, and in the majority of instances by more than one-fourth.*”

The effects then of the 43rd of Elizabeth, when combined with the Settlement Act (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12), up to the date of Mr. Senior's work, as shown by the condition of the poor, appear to have been these:—A multitude of miserable paupers amounting to nearly one-fourth of the population, and rapidly increasing through-

* This was written in 1835, before the duties on corn and provisions had been abolished.

out the whole kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, often driven from their homes and hunted from place to place by the cruellest oppression, often perishing for want, and having no place in which they could claim a right to dwell, had been converted into the most industrious, best paid, best clothed, best fed, and longest lived population in Europe.

Comparison with France and Ireland.

One of the most striking effects of the English poor laws, in legalizing and enforcing the natural claim of the poor to "a subsistence or the means of obtaining it," is to be found in the fact that this country exhibits the strange anomaly of a great European community in which the population is generally in a state of contentment;—a country over which the storm, that, in 1848, shook to their foundations the monarchies of Europe, passed harmless.

There is nothing which strikes one so forcibly on returning from the continent as the utter absence of soldiers in England; you may go from the Land's End to John O'Groat's Land without seeing three men in uniform. In England, with rare exceptions, every man's hand is for the law. The right to support which the poorer classes hold on the property of this country—a claim limited only by their wants, and prior to that of the proprietor—is one great cause of this contentment. There is no other great country in Europe in which the government would not, within one month, cease to exist, if its armies were disbanded.

No laws, however just in other respects, which "rigidly maintain" the partition of property against the claims of indigence and "distress," can, for any length of time, be supported against the just indignation of the poorer classes, except by means of a large standing army. In other words, except by hiring a certain number of those very poorer classes as soldiers, gendarmes, or policemen, and by bribing them with good pay, food, lodging, clothing, and the prospect of a pension, to coerce their unarmed and undisciplined brethren into submission to laws which they cannot respect.

France and Ireland afford excellent examples of this state of things.

The laws for the protection of persons and property in Ireland have for many years been nearly identical with those of England. The pressure of taxation has been infinitely less.

In England every man's hand is raised in defence of those laws. In Ireland a force of 40,000 soldiers and police have usually been required to make those laws obeyed.

In France the code Napoleon affords cheap and equal law and justice to all, as regards disputes concerning property. But that code affords no satisfaction to the really poor. France has to

maintain, in time of peace, half a million of soldiers, gendarmes, or national guards, to keep down her people and make that code obeyed.

The disease in both countries is radically the same—the partition of property in France, and, until quite recently, in Ireland has been “maintained rigidly against the claims of indigence and distress,” against the natural claims of the people.

What does it avail to the ouvrier of the faubourg or to the poor Irish cottier that a dispute between a tradesman and a landed proprietor be equitably arranged? He possesses none of that property which those laws were framed to protect—nay, one of their main objects is to protect property against him. Their strong hand checks him at every turn, but it grants him no compensatory aid in his hour of distress. His labour enriches his country—directly or indirectly he contributes from his wages to the cost of its government, but in his hour of want he gains no advantage from that government which he knows how to appreciate.

The disease shows itself in the two countries in slightly varying forms, but the symptoms possess a strong family likeness. The Irish rebel and the French red republican are essentially brethren, for their discontent has a common origin. In Ireland we have had secret societies banded together for murder and outrage. We have had frequent evictions, with the proprietor or agent shot down or beaten to death in open day, often in the sight and hearing of scores of the country people of all ages and sexes, and yet they gave no sign, no evidence could be procured against the murderers. The hand of every man was against the laws. In their distress and misery the laws owned them not; and yet, with the solitary exception of the poor laws, they had long been almost wholly identical with those which have met with the general support of the English people.

In France we have again the secret societies, the frequent revolution, and the deadly battles of the barricade. The more educated and philosophical Frenchman marches to the attack of all existing institutions, of all religion, all property, and all family ties, under his communistic war-cry of “*La propriété, c'est le vol!*” It avails little to the French socialist whether empire, royalty, or democracy reigns triumphant in France, so long as the “partition of property is rigidly maintained” against his indigence and his distress. The infinitesimal division of land among peasant proprietors makes no change. The French communist directs his attack equally against all property. The aristocracy—the large landed proprietors—were swept away by the storm of 1792. The wretched holder of four or five acres, or of a petty shop, is now, under the modern term of “aristot,” as obnoxious to the French democrat as was his titled predecessor. It matters not if the land be held in larger or smaller portions;—if the poor man's cry for assist-

severe and costly wars, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries, have been safely weathered, and have been accompanied with an almost fabulous increase of national wealth and prosperity. Within half a century our population has been doubled, while the burden of pauperism on the real property of the country has been reduced by about three-fifths during that period (*see Appendix K*).

Our system of parochial poor laws has been severely tried, and has not been found wanting. As early as 1794 and 1795, grain and provisions rose to a famine price. With this rise, arose distress and privation among the working classes. With distress came discontent amounting almost to rebellion. The triumphs of French democracy afforded a tempting example to a multitude suffering from scarcity and distress. England, as well as all Europe, was at this time agitated by the efforts of secret societies, emanating from the French republic, which had declared openly, by a decree of the national convention, that it would extend fraternity and assistance to the disaffected and revolting subjects of all monarchical governments.

Meetings were held in the open fields, at the instance of these corresponding societies, at which doctrines subversive of all government, and all property, and near akin to the socialist theories of the present day, were openly promulgated. Great riots were the consequence. The king was assailed by a revolutionary mob, and shot at as he was going to open parliament in 1794, amid cries of "*bread, peace, no Pitt, no King!*" Everything betokened a repetition of the scenes of violence and bloodshed which had recently been enacted in France.

Such was the condition of England at the commencement of that great and prolonged struggle which overthrew most of the monarchies of Europe, and revolutionized and devastated her fairest lands. England alone rode triumphantly through that stormy period. The peace that brought repose and security to the exhausted nations of the continent, found her launched in a career of advancement and prosperity until that time unequalled.

The catastrophe was averted by the united wisdom of those giant intellects who then ruled the destinies of England. Separated from each other on almost every question of home and foreign policy, Pittites and Foxites, Whigs and Tories, landed proprietors and merchants, all joined in the great work of charity, of mercy and of conciliation. The only struggle between those usually bitter opponents, was as to which should propose the most effectual plan for *feeding the poor*. Bills with that object were prepared by the leaders of both parties, and laid before the House of Commons.

An important alteration in the law of removal was made in

1795, by which no poor man could be removed until he became actually chargeable to the parish of his residence. No other change was made in the existing poor law, which, under the guidance of the local authorities, directed and countenanced by a series of resolutions which were moved by the prime minister, Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, became the means of dispensing help and comfort and content to the working classes throughout England, in the shape of a more extended parochial relief than they had been in the habit of receiving.

The chief changes recommended by these resolutions, which met with the unanimous approval of the chiefs of both parties, were:—

1st. Relief from the rates in aid of insufficient wages.

2nd. Relief to the parents of larger families than their wages could support.

3rd. That the possession of necessaries to a small amount should not exclude a poor man from parochial relief.

Plans for industrial schools, and the establishment of a five years' residential settlement, were also hinted at.

I cannot here omit the memorable words in which Mr. Pitt delivered his well-digested opinion on the second head:—

"Let us," said he, "make relief in cases where there are a number of children, as matter of right, and an honour, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt. This will make a large family a blessing, and not a curse, and this will draw a proper line of distinction between those who are able to provide for themselves by their labour, and those who, after having enriched their country with a number of children, have a claim upon its assistance for their support."

Is not the neglect of a provision for any greater number of children than can be supported by a labourer's wages, one great cause of the fearful increase of infanticide in this country, which has taken place of late years, tending to debase our population below the level of savages?

The principle of granting extended support to pauper children has no affinity with the poor-law abuses of 1832, which sprung mainly from the system of paying wages out of the poor's rates. No claim for aid can be more righteous than that of a parent in aid of a family larger than his wages can by possibility support—they must have food or perish.

It was within two years of the time, when Mr. Pitt moved these resolutions, that Mr. Malthus published his first essay, advocating a general emasculation of the people. Had his cramped and unnatural views been successful, and were the population of this country now no greater than when he first wrote, England would ere this time have sunk to a second place among the nations of

Europe, her commercial and manufacturing greatness would never have existed, and her power would have been annihilated for ever.

It has often been asserted that no logical answer has been found to Mr. Malthus's theories. The following extract from a work of M. Raudot, (member of the French legislative assembly,) entitled "*La Décadence de la France*" (Paris, 1850), affords an excellent practical commentary on them. He says—

"Men are the first element in the power of a nation :—

"What was the population of all the great European states in 1789 ; at the end of the great war in 1815 ; and at the beginning of 1849 ? :—

	In 1789.	In 1816.	In 1848.
" France contained	- 30,000,000	- 30,000,000	- 35,700,000
" Russia	- 33,000,000	- 50,000,000	- 70,000,000
" Austria	- 28,000,000	- 29,000,000	- 39,000,000
" England	- 14,000,000	- 19,500,000	- 29,000,000
" Prussia	- 6,500,000	- 10,000,000	- 16,500,000

" France, inferior by a tenth to Russia in 1789, is exceeded by more than a third in 1816, and by almost double in 1848.

" France, a little above Austria in 1789 and 1816, is a tenth below her in 1848.

" France, which more than doubled England in 1789, has but the advantage of a third in 1816, and of less than a fifth in 1848.

" Rival nations have therefore increased far more than the French people. I know that *it is called* a blessing that the French people increase less rapidly than that of all the other great European states: *it is said* that our country will thereby escape the fate of Ireland, where men die of hunger, *and of social wars produced by misery.*

" But is the lot of the masses of population in Great Britain (excluding Ireland), in Austria, in Russia, and in Prussia, more miserable at the present day than at the end of the last century, or at the end of the great wars of the Empire? The contrary may boldly be maintained ; and it appears *that social wars have unhappily broken out already in France.*

" At all events the first element of power is population, and since the relative force of France has diminished in an enormous proportion on this capital point, and far more than its relative territorial possessions, France is rapidly on the wane.

" In 1815 we had, on one side, 30 millions of French ; on the other 108 millions of Russians, English, Austrians, and Prussians ; in 1849, 35 millions of French were in presence of 154 millions of those other nations."

Let then no political economist be any longer afraid of letting pauper children live.

If the details of Mr. Pitt's resolutions were not in all respects perfect, they were at least right in their main principle, and well suited to the occasion.

The great minister prepared his country for the death struggle that he saw impending, by strengthening every heart and nerving every limb. By the simple machinery of the parochial poor law he fed the people. He checked the rising hopes of the Republican, and deprived the Democrat of popular support; for he knew that a well-fed Englishman is always loyal. By tranquillizing the minds of the people, and by fostering their industry, he laid the foundation of that great increase in the value of all property which proceeded with such rapidity during the next few years, and which has not yet ceased.

In fine, he staved off domestic danger from the land by the simple expedient of increasing the food and the comforts of the people. He increased by tenfold our power of resistance against a foreign foe, by an addition of, perhaps, a million a year to the local poor's rates, which were distributed, by the aid of many thousands of local unpaid officers, among the poorest and most needy in the land; these local officers being themselves among the principal contributors to the poor's rates. Such extensive good was perhaps never before effected with so small means.

How different and how petty are the views of the so-called political economists of the present day. How soul-sickening are such assertions, as that harshness and severity in the administration of relief are by far the best things for the welfare of the poorer classes. Had the meagre tyranny, that the triumph of such principles would inflict on our labouring population, been adopted in 1795, God only knows what the position of England might now have been. In all human probability, our ancient monarchy and time-honoured institutions would have been, like the "*ancien régime*" of a neighbouring land, the tale of a past century and wellnigh forgotten.

Tenth of April.

On the memorable 10th of April, 1848, when England was threatened with the fate which broke up for a time almost every continental government, the severest distress prevailed in the manufacturing districts round Manchester. At that time no less than 164,000* persons were receiving relief in that district (which consists of 29 unions). When we consider that perhaps double

* In the week preceding the 10th of April, 1848, the numbers were :—
 152,013 out door paupers . . . 11,938 relieved in the workhouses.
 In the following week :—
 152,121 ditto . . . 11,925 ditto

that number may have been looking forward to a resort to the poor's rates as a possible and even probable occurrence, if the distress continued or increased, we cannot be surprised at the tranquillity which prevailed among the lower classes in that district. Had those tens of thousands been starving, or depending on the precarious aid of voluntary charity, the result would probably have been different.

We cannot be wrong in placing the tranquillity of that district, under those trying circumstances, among the effects of the English poor laws.

Danish Poor Laws.

In the preface to the foreign Communications contained in the Appendix to the poor-law report already quoted, is an excellent chapter on this subject;—Mr. Senior says, “We have entered into this full statement of the Danish poor-laws, and of their administration, because *they exhibit the most extensive experiment that has as yet been made in any considerable portion of the continent of a system in many respects resembling our own.*”

This system of poor laws was established in 1803.

The objects of parochial relief are divided into three classes :

1st Class—contains the aged, sick, and infirm : all who cannot earn their own maintenance.

2nd Class—orphans, foundlings, and deserted children.

3rd Class—persons who from constitutional weakness, a numerous offspring, the approach of old age, or similar causes, are unable to earn a sufficiency for the support of themselves or children.

The two first classes are very fully and liberally provided for. Paupers of the 3rd class are so relieved that they may not want the absolute necessities of life ; there is no actual provision for the relief of the able-bodied, but we are told that very great facilities exist for gaining admittance into the 3rd and lowest class.

Settlement and chargeability are parochial, and are accompanied by a power of removal to the parish of settlement.

The clergyman of every parish is president of the Poor Law Board, which is composed of several of the principal inhabitants.

The effects of this system appear to have been very similar to those which followed the introduction of the settlement law (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12) in this country.

Mr. Macgregor says, “Be the management of the poor laws good or bad, yet the system itself seems to have answered an important object, *that of checking the rapid growth of pauperism.*”

M. N. N., a Danish gentleman, and author of a work on the present poor law, says, “Before the introduction of the present

"poor-law system, the distress was much greater, and begging of the most rapacious and importunate kind was most common in the country. This was not only a heavy burden to the peasantry, but was, in other respects, the cause of intolerable annoyance to them; for the beggars, where their demands were not satisfied, had recourse to insolence and threats, nay, even to acts of criminal vengeance,"

"This is no longer the case, and in so far, therefore, the present system has been beneficial."

One might almost imagine one was reading one of the many accounts of the state of vagrancy and disorder which was prevalent in England before the passing of the Settlement Act.

The praise of the system is not unmixed. There are many complaints of the increasing burden of the poor's rates, precisely similar to those which were made in England under parallel circumstances.

Mr. Browne, the English consul, who is evidently suffering from a severe attack of political economy, dissents from these views, he thinks that in spite of these great advantages, and of a steady improvement in the wealth, agriculture, industry, and population, which had taken place in the country since the poor laws were established, "it has produced a general demoralization of all classes; that a more mischievous system could not have been devised, and that ere long, unless some strenuous steps are taken, Denmark will drink deep of the bitter cup of which England, by a similar system, has been so long drinking to her grievous cost."

Count Holstein also objects to the poor laws; but as one of his principal objections seems to be that the post of president of a parochial Poor Law Board is one which is particularly unsuited to a clergyman, I do not enter further into his case.

On the whole these laws appear to have acted (as even Mr. Browne will allow) precisely as our English poor laws have done; they have repressed pauperism, vagrancy, and disorder, and they have been at least co-existent with a great and remarkable increase in wealth and general prosperity.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESSIVENESS OF THE BURDEN OF POOR'S RATE.

Ever since a forced assessment for the relief of the poor came into operation in England, there have been found persons who have prophesied that the poor would eventually swallow up the whole real property of the country. I believe that a more unfounded fear never existed. It received, however, great countenance from the report of a Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1817—the period of its greatest pressure—to consider the subject. The increase of the wealth and industry of the country, and the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, has decreased the pressure of the poor's rates by nearly three-fifths since that report was made (Appendix, K). The poor-law reformers of 1832-4 quoted the report of this Committee, and availed themselves largely of this cry, and as there was, at that time, no property tax by which the real value of a parish, and consequently the real pressure of the poor's rates, could be measured, the diminution that had taken place in the burden could not be ascertained. They were therefore enabled to make, uncontradicted, the most alarming statements, founded on the basis of the existing parochial assessments, or on the desultory evidence of parochial authorities. By comparing the increase and decrease in the value of property assessed to the property tax in 1815 and 1843, we are now enabled to form an estimate at least approximating to what must have been the value of the real property in each parish at that time. I append (Appendix, M.) the statistics of those parishes which were selected by the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry to prove this case, and which I extract from their report.

The results do not show that danger to property, which was probably apparent from calculations grounded on the fallacious basis of the existing parochial assessments.

A great bugbear was made of the Cholesbury case in 1832; but when it is known that the whole parish contains but 170* acres, it will appear that this was a case of great cry and little wool—an exception to prove the rule.

A steady increase in wealth, as compared with population, has taken place in England and Wales. The annual value, or rental, of real property as assessed to the property tax, divided by the number of the population, gives the following results:—

	Population.		Annual Value of Real Property.		Amount per Head on the Population.
1688 } 1693 }	5,500,500	..	£13,000,000	..	£2 7 0
1803. —	9,276,988	..	38,000,000	..	4 1 11
1815. —	11,017,071	..	51,898,423	..	4 14 2½
1843. —	16,349,822	..	85,802,734	..	5 4 11
1851. —	18,004,551	..	94,801,969	..	5 5 3½

* The 56 close parishes in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire average 1,664 acres each.

Sir Frederic Eden, writing in 1796, shows that notwithstanding the recent increase in the poor's rates, the national wealth had increased much faster. He says (vol. i. p. 407):—

“Great and burdensome as the poor's rate may appear, from the returns which were made to Parliament in the year 1786, and from the more recent communications which the reader will find detailed in the second volume, it will be evident from the following statement of its amount at different periods, that *the rise in the poor's rates has not kept pace with other branches of national expenditure, or even with our increased ability to pay them*, which may in some measure be ascertained from the value of cargoes exported at different periods since the Restoration.”

In Appendix (K.) I give the amounts and rates in the pound paid for the support of the poor from the earliest time I have been able to collect them. It appears that within a very few years after the establishment of a practical poor law by the 13th & 14th of Charles II., c. 12, the rates reached a greater amount than they now bear on the annual value of real property in the country. During the famines and heavy pressure of the French war they reached more than double that amount; but the increase of the value of real property in the country from collateral circumstances, far more than repaid the proprietors for this increase. Four or five years of heavy poor's rates occurred after the peace; but it appears that their pressure had considerably diminished during the twelve years that preceded the Poor Law Amendment Act, and there is no reason to suppose that that decrease would not have continued.

We are told, too, that a vast amount of wages, and the rents of numberless cottages, were paid annually out of the amounts returned as paid for the relief of the poor before 1834. So that, supposing all this to be paid by legitimate means at the present time, several items must be charged against the reduction of $8\frac{1}{4}d.$ in the pound, which appears, *prima facie*, to have been effected by the Poor Law Amendment Act, that is to say,

1st. The amount of reduction that might reasonably have been expected in continuation of that which had already taken place.

2nd. The amount of wages and rent formerly paid out of the poor's rates, and included in the poor returns before 1834.

3rd. The total cost of the Central Poor Law Board.

So that the assertion, that property was in 1832, in danger of being eaten up by the poor's rates, and that it has been saved by the Poor Law Amendment Act, is unsupported by facts and figures.

CHAPTER IV.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM.

The real freedom of a nation depends more on her institutions than on the form of her government. It is possible for a nation to be enslaved under the most democratic rule if the whole management and direction of local matters are vested in a central authority. Our practical freedom depends quite as much on our system of local self-government as on our constitution, and that system of self-government depends mainly on the parochial system.

Every one who has a head for public affairs, in whatever position he may be born, may become a valuable agent in carrying on the government of the country, in some of those numerous unpaid offices with which our counties and parishes are filled. Every man who acquires the respect and confidence of his neighbours, may exercise a considerable influence on the local government of his neighbourhood.

The Anglo-Saxon race are supposed by some to possess an inherent capacity for self-government. This is not a matter of race; it arises from the fact, that the English nation have, for many generations, been educated to be free. They have inherited from their fathers the capacity and the right of managing their own local government in their own way. There is no privilege which has done so much to form and maintain our national character for energy, self-reliance and decision, as the independent county and parochial government of England. There is no privilege that we ought to guard with so jealous an eye. All small communities of Englishmen, wherever they may be thrown, shape out for themselves a simple form of government, instinctively derived from the parochial associations of their youth. An Anglo-Saxon community is not paralysed by any misfortune that may happen to its head, for it is independent of external control or direction.

The opinion of M. Raudot, member of the French Parliament, is thus given, (*Décadence de la France*, p. 48):—

“ If the English nation has founded and founds colonies on the surface of the globe, if one can call her the mother of nations, it is because her citizens are *accustomed to administer for themselves their municipal, provincial, judicial, and political affairs*, and because her great ministers are complete men at an age when Frenchmen are still in leading strings.

“ If the Anglo-American race extend itself over the whole of North America—if it found on all sides, in the midst of forests, colonies of pioneers which shortly raise themselves into states, it

"is because all the men of this race are accustomed to what they call self-government."

He attributes the incapacity of the French for colonization to their centralized administration at home. He says—

"As to (French) colonists, accustomed in their mother country to the constant guidance of government functionaries in all their communal and departmental affairs, never having done anything for themselves, or by association with others, they find themselves embarrassed in a colony, confounded by the least obstacle, staggering like children who cannot walk without a hand to support them; if some of them, by chance, have sufficient energy to walk alone, and to direct themselves, the administrative laws and habits of the mother country come to place impediments in their way, and to raise up against them perpetual and discouraging obstacles, under the pretence of protection and regularity."

Various nations have been repeatedly, during the last sixty years, in the position to have inaugurated a system of representative government; but their failure to do so has been nearly universal. When we hear of such failures, either on the continent of Europe or in Spanish America, we say, these people are not fit for freedom; but why they are not fit we do not trouble ourselves to inquire. The reason that the English race is fit for freedom, and that most others are not so, is simply that which M. Raudot has so well described.

The question of local self-government is a much larger one than some persons may at first sight be willing to allow. It is not whether it be possible to manage the roads, or the poor relief of a certain parish, in a better or more economical manner. It is not whether the most reasonable party has had the majority in the vestry. It is not whether the chairman of quarter sessions be or be not as efficient a judge as the chief baron of the Exchequer, or whether the officers selected by the lord lieutenant to command the militia are the best that could have been found.

It is not whether all or any of these things might or might not have been better done, in some particular instances, by the nominees of the Home Office. The real question is, whether the possible chance of improving this administration, by taking it out of the hands of the unpaid officers who have so long conducted it, does not quite disappear before the certain blow that would be struck at the independence and self-reliance of British character.

Our unpaid parochial authorities are almost invariably chosen from among those in whom their fellow-countrymen have the greatest confidence. Instances of corruption have been rare among them—of late years almost unheard of—while insolence, venality and rapacity are the invariable attributes of those dominant bodies of governing officials by which the continent is infested and enslaved.

In England, within certain broad limits, every county, town or parish, can now manage its own matters in its own way, according to the wishes and means of the majority of the ratepayers. Let them ask themselves how they would like one unvarying rule, without their consent being asked, to be applied to the affairs of their town or their parish. Their local taxes, perhaps, doubled to meet the cost of changes and improvements distasteful to themselves, and only needed to carry out the Procrustean theories of a central irresponsible board. Let them remember the proceedings of the old Poor Law Commission, in its palmy days of young Authority, and let them ask the fever-stricken ratepayers of Croydon their opinion of the proceedings of the Central Board of Health. Let them see in these slight instances of central control, some trifling indication of that which must become general in every department of local administration throughout the country, were our parochial landmarks and parochial authorities once swept away.

And yet the Poor Law Commission was a controlling and not an executive body; and the Central Board of Health was not, by its constitution, intended to do more than assist those parishes that wished to cleanse and improve themselves, by affording the aid of experienced engineers, and by saving them the expense and delay of local Acts of Parliament.

I confess that I have always looked upon such central boards with an eye of distrust and suspicion; that I have always regarded, with the greatest jealousy, the form and authority of their orders. An order of the Poor Law Commission, or of the Board of Health, carries with it all the authority of an Act of Parliament, without the consent of queen, of lords, or of commons. It is the nature of such boards to be aggressive; honestly they can hardly avoid being so, for they come into contact with a number of petty abuses and anomalies which they have not the power of correcting. For that power they struggle; forgetting, perhaps, in the honesty of their intentions, that ten thousand such abuses and anomalies are as nothing, compared with the gigantic abuse they would themselves form, if they once acquired the power of correcting them against the wishes of the inhabitants.

French Centralization.

The following extracts from M. Raudot's work give a formidable account of the state of centralization in France—of the precipice on the brink of which we now stand:—

“ The centralization of the army, the navy, the national finances, of our relations with foreign powers, in short that government centralization which unites the forces of the state, and assures the greatness of France, can find only partizans and admirers among all men of sense, and all good Frenchmen. But the centralization of all local and provincial affairs, of all the interests, of all the ideas, of the very existence, the very life of a great people, in

“ the capital—this is one of the principal causes of the ‘*décadence*’ of France.

“ The French government has the right of appointing almost all the public functionaries of France, and their number is immense.

“ Almost all those functionaries are in absolute dependence on the government, and have no separate existence. They cannot be prosecuted for crimes committed in the exercise of their functions, either by a citizen, a commune, an association, or even by a public department, without the authority of the council of state, which, itself, depends entirely on the government.

“ All the affairs of the departments and all public works, executed with the local funds of the departments, are directed by the *préfet* alone. The municipal councils can give their opinion but once in the year, and the *préfets* are in absolute dependence on the Minister.

“ No one can establish a manufactory, or a toll, work a mine, make regulations for the markets, or the distribution of the water of rivers and fountains, drain marshes, form a company, or an assurance or tontine society, or even make a donation to public charities, without taking the opinion of the council of state, and obtaining the consent of the government.

“ There is not a spot of land in France, *there is not a man, however mean his position may be*, who does not wince under this omnipotent centralization.

“ Centralization attempts, from Paris, to direct all these functionaries, to know all that they do. She keeps a constant check over them, even those of the highest order, and deprives them of all personal influence over the people. She fears to leave them in their native provinces, lest they might preserve some independence, a will and influence of their own. She accustoms them to have no will, to run unceasingly from North to South and from South to North in the pursuit of promotion. Thus, if agents of the highest department of the government receive no orders from Paris, they hesitate, and know not what part to take. In difficult occasions, when left to their own resources, they resemble blind men who have lost the hand of their leader. We have seen this sad spectacle in the late revolutions in France, and we shall see it again.

“ *They are checked by no scruples of conscience*; let them receive an order of whatever nature, and they will execute it, for good or for evil, but without an order they can do nothing.

“ But if these functionaries are without dignity, without a will, before the central power, they make *the insolence of their authority rudely and painfully* felt by individuals and by communes—themselves inviolable, for they cannot be cited before the tribunal without the authority of the council of state; protected by an all-powerful ‘*Esprit de corps*,’ they readily become the agents of an arbitrary despotism.

“ Centralization, holding in hand all the local affairs of the pro-

“vinces, permits nothing to be done without her authority and direction. The mayors and municipal councillors abstain, in disgust from attempting those improvements which centralization, with its delays and its minutiae, renders so tardy and so difficult to accomplish.

“The French people are treated by their government like children who have need of continual care. Under this treatment they continue to be children, and often dangerous children, instead of being firm and reasonable men; and on the other hand their guardians manage their affairs but badly.

“There can be no continued exertions in public works and enterprises, when the administrators are in a state of perpetual mobility; and without continued exertions what can be done that is either good or great?

“Centralization is one of the great causes of the ‘*décadence*’ of France.”

Self-government.

I shall here introduce a few passages from the pen of a powerful and talented writer which bear strongly on this subject. They are extracted from a work called the “Original,” by the late Thomas Walker, M.A., one of the police magistrates of the metropolis. They are accompanied by an admirable dissertation on the reform of our parochial institutions.

“The Democratic principle is the fundamental principle of English government, and upon its effective operation depend the purity and vigour of the body politic.

“The Oligarchic principle tends to make those who attain power, tenacious, arbitrary, and corrupt; those who wish for it, discontented and envious, and the rest fatally indifferent.

“Ochlocracy (which is derived from two Greek words signifying mob-government) is the most inquisitorial, dictatorial, and disgusting of all governments, and its tendency is to despotism as a more tolerable form of tyranny. It is an unwieldy monster, more potent in the tail than in the head, and is hardly stimulated to action but by the garbage or trash thrown to it by the base or the weak for their own base or weak purposes.

“Notwithstanding almost all our institutions have from time to time been neglected, or unskilfully reformed, yet the original democratic principle has still been there; and it is that principle, however weakened or obscured, which has preserved our constitution as a blessing to ourselves and an example to others, through barbarous ages, through the most violent political and religious storms, amidst the desolation of civil wars, and under the weakest and most arbitrary of our monarchs. This consideration should excite in us the most jealous care of a principle to which we owe so much, and through which alone we and posterity can derive all the benefits of

“increasing civilization. Such care is the more necessary, *as a foreign principle, called the principle of centralization, is creeping in amongst us*; a principle chiefly cried up by men who are totally ignorant of the efficacy of the democratic principle—men who, with strange inconsistency, are perpetually calling out for popular enlightenment, whilst they are striving with all their might to take away popular power, except, indeed, so far as it may be made available for party purposes—men who contemptuously turn from the practical wisdom of their own free and noble institutions to the theories and devices of novices in liberty, or proficients in despotism; *as if France and Prussia were fit examples for the imitation of Britain.*”

“There are two vices inherent in the centralization principle, which are quite sufficient to render it odious to all true Englishmen. In the first place, it must necessarily create a tribe of subordinate traders in government, who, with whatever English feelings they might set out, must, from the nature of things, they or their successors, become arbitrary, vexatious, and selfish.”

“Parochial government is the very element upon which all other government in England depends, and as long as it is out of order, everything must be out of order—representation—legislation—police. Hence, instead of a House of Commons of men of practical wisdom and distinct views in matters of government, saying little and doing much, a House of Commons as it is, the choosers and the chosen are alike vague in the knowledge of their duties. They have had no proper training; they have not begun at the beginning—
GOVERNMENT AT HOME.”

“It is by the principles alone of self-government by small communities that a nation can be brought to enjoy a vigorous moral health, and its consequences—real prosperity. It is by the same principle alone that the social feelings can be duly called into action, and that men, taken in the mass, can be noble, generous, intelligent, and free. It has been from neglect of this principle that England, with all her advantages, has not made greater progress; AND IT WILL BE ONLY TO ITS ABANDONMENT, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF A HEARTLESS SYSTEM OF GENERALIZATION AND MERCENARIES, THAT SHE CAN EVER OWE HER DECAY AND BECOME FIT FOR DESPOTISM. Put the administration of justice throughout the land, the police, the poor laws, the roads, into the hands of mere officials *placed over extended districts*, with which they are to have little or no community—take from men of business and of fortune everything but their business and their fortunes, and on the one hand will be created a race of traders in public affairs, and, on the other, of selfish besotted individuals, with *a government relying for its strength on an all-pervading patronage*; and, in the proportion that this is done, evil will arise, and good be prevented.”

“ Parishes are so many little commonwealths, capable in different degrees of being made by effective organization nurseries of useful ambition, manly intelligence, and social virtue. It is here that public men should begin their discipline, cultivate their sympathies, and learn to see their way. It is here that the lowliest citizen should proudly feel within the reach of merit the first steps to advancement. It is from this gaol that all should have a fair start, and the State place her sons in their proper order. Then might representation be the extraction of the choicest of the land, legislation become something like the essence of wisdom and simplicity, and police an ever-vigilant force, having for its chief characteristic moral influence.”

I cannot conclude this subject without introducing the following remarks of Mr. G. C. Lewis, before the Lords' Committee of 1850:—

“ If we suppose that all the locally paid persons connected with the relief of the poor, now in the appointment of the guardians, and all the officers connected with prisons who are now appointed by the county magistrates and borough authorities, were transferred to the government, it is impossible not to see that *a very important constitutional change would have been made*, and one that would very materially affect the operation of the government upon every parish in the kingdom. It might also bring upon the government a greater weight of responsibility than it was capable of bearing; because, undoubtedly, one of the advantages which our government possesses, as compared with continental governments, is, *that by not undertaking the performance of many functions, which here are discharged by local persons, and by officers appointed locally*, it avoids the invidiousness which arises where more extensive functions are undertaken. Its responsibility being less, it is exposed to less unpopularity and less violent shocks in times of temporary discontent.”

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT.

The establishment of a practical Poor Law for the support of the English Poor, was first accomplished by the Settlement Law of the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12.

Mr. Coode's report is written with the professed object of writing down "settlement."* His start is not very encouraging, and conveys the impression that he does not think the case he has undertaken to argue a very strong one. He says, in the preface to his report, page 2, "It is, I submit, neither my fault, nor that of the witnesses, that I have been unable to find a single parochial officer, or a single poor man, who could give me any evidence how the law of settlement works." He continues in page 3, "It is the necessary effect of a law of repression, as that of settlement is, that its *most successful consequences are developed in inaction*, not action, and that in proportion to its efficiency they escape from observation, while only the breaches of the law and its penal or remedial procedure (as by removals and their incidents in this instance) become distinct and sensible. It is only to such incidents, emergent from *the quiet mass of the effects of the law of settlement*, that the evidence relates, which I present to you."

Again, at page 4 :—

"At the same time, *there is no case which has the merit of being a good logical extreme case*, which at least would enable us to see practically the possible extent of the operation of the law."

If Mr. Coode had devoted a section of his work to an inquiry as to what those "*successful consequences, developed in inaction*," and what the "*quiet mass of the effects of the law of settlement*," have been, it would probably have proved the most valuable portion of it.

A comparison of the state of the labouring classes at the time of the passing of the Settlement Act, 13 & 14 Car. II., and their condition at the present day, such as I have endeavoured to draw at page 4, of this volume, would have enabled us to form a pretty correct idea on the subject.

The third part of the appendix to Mr. Coode's report, containing 28 pages, is composed of a mass of quotations, all tending to prove that the 43rd of Elizabeth, from the time of its introduction in 1601, until the passing of the law of parochial settlement in 1662,

* Mr. Coode recommends, in his report (p. 189), *the repeal of the law of removal*, which he shows to be *identical with the repeal of the law of settlement*, except in the case of a few parochial charities.

was wholly inadequate to secure the relief of the poor, or to check the evils of rapidly increasing pauperism and destitution.

It begins at page 219, and is headed—

“Part III. A. D. 1601 to 1661.

“Neglect of the Poor—Impunity of Vagabonds—Attempts to enforce the Poor and Vagrant Laws.”

Mr. Coode here gives extracts from a great number of public and private documents, all arriving at the same end, and showing that *the wilful neglect of parishes to provide for the support of their poor; destroying towns and burning out the poor; robberies, thefts, burglaries, rapes and murders; whipping to death, or branding for rogues the houseless poor; and hanging them for the next offence*, were circumstances of weekly and daily occurrence during those terrible years. The constant theme of all authorities is the continued and unchecked increase of pauperism and destitution, and the extracts quoted by Mr. Coode present a hideous picture of misery and tyranny that would disgrace the most savage country.

Mr. Coode's chapter might fairly have been headed—

“Part III. A. D. 1601 to 1661.

“Showing the failure of the 43rd of Elizabeth, *without the aid of parochial settlement*, to prevent the increase of pauperism; “the neglect and starvation of the poor; the vexing of the “country by bands of desperate and famished vagrants; and the “manifold evils which spring from depopulation and clearances.”

The utter inefficiency of the 43rd of Elizabeth, during these sixty years, to grapple with English pauperism, is repeatedly acknowledged by Mr. Coode in the body of his report, as well as the rapid increase of supplies for the relief and maintenance of the poor, which resulted from the changes that took place in 1662. The facts produced by Mr. Coode in his report prove incontestably, “THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRACTICAL POOR LAW FOR “THE SUPPORT OF THE ENGLISH POOR WAS FIRST ACCOMPLISHED “BY THE MUCH MALIGNED SETTLEMENT LAW OF THE 13 & 14 “CAR. II. c. 12.” It is not then surprising that the opponents of that system should fix upon this law as their chief point of attack.

The right of every destitute person to relief or employment had been acknowledged by the law, ever since the 14th of Elizabeth (1571). For ninety years it had been acknowledged in vain. The claim of the poor was clear, but they wanted the means of enforcing it. Until each man's right was defined and localized by the Settlement Act, he had no real claim on the soil; and since it was far easier for a parish to drive forth its poor than to relieve them, it is not surprising that many of them, and particularly those which,

"by reason of their largeness, were unable to reap the benefits of the 43rd of Elizabeth," should have adopted that course. The number of the poor was immense, and we are told by an Act of Parliament that they perished miserably, both old and young, from want. It was estimated by that "most careful political arithmetician," Mr. Gregory King, that 1,330,000, or nearly a quarter of a population of 5,500,500, were, at the time of the Restoration, paupers, *i. e.* dependent on others for support. Mr. Coode has shown that the whole sum raised annually for the support of the poor of the whole kingdom did not amount to £189,000. But it increased so rapidly after the great boon of settlement was granted to the people, that, in only eighteen years after its introduction, the sum expended rose to £685,362, and in thirty-six years to £819,000, or about 1s. 3d. in the pound on the then annual value of real property in the kingdom, a rate that it has only once arrived at during the last eighteen years. The law of settlement, and the division of the larger parishes into townships, or "*neighbourhoods*," brought into immediate operation that system of poor laws which has, for the last 200 years, been the good genius of England—which has checked vagabondism and disorder, reduced pauperism, and contented the people. A system which works for the benefit of the poor, through that all-powerful engine, self-interest; which has made it not only the duty, but the interest, of every man of property to find employment for his poorer neighbours—a system which, in every parish, defines clearly the persons who are the objects of its care; and gives to each poor man, in case of destitution, a distinct claim on the soil of his settlement for employment or support.

The immediate effect of the settlement law was to put a stop to starvation and depopulation. The defined and well-ascertained claim of the parochial settled poor was no longer to be shifted or avoided. It was no longer in the power of the landholders to destroy habitations, and drive forth their poor with impunity. The law of removal saddled any such poor on the parish of their settlement in a far costlier manner than if they had not been driven forth.

The poor law of Elizabeth, instead of lying, as it had done for the last sixty years, a dead letter, became an active and beneficent reality. The long standing complaints of the increase of pauperism and starvation of the poor immediately ceased. Strange to say, they were, as Mr. Coode allows, as immediately succeeded by complaints of a wholly opposite nature; of the injury done to property by the pressure of the poor's rates—complaints that, in some quarters, will never cease, while the smallest legal right is retained by the poor, and while the avarice of man remains unchanged.

CHAPTER VI.

ON DEPOPULATION, OR WHAT IS CALLED THE CLEARING
SYSTEM.

One great object and effect of parochial settlement has been the prevention of the system of clearances. This system was one of the greatest evils that afflicted this country in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and part of the seventeenth centuries. The power and influence of a nobleman, during the feudal ages, depended not so much on the length of his purse, as on the number of followers that he could bring into the field. That which was equivalent to the rent of his lands was, therefore, paid chiefly in personal and military service, rather than in money or produce. A new era came, the feudal system was, by degrees, broken up, and money, not soldiers, was the requirement of a new generation of proprietors. The feudal population had neither the skill, capital, industry, nor inclination, necessary to enable them to produce that large surplus produce from the soil which the new state of things demanded. A system of sheep farming, similar to that now practised in the highlands of Scotland, was found to be far more profitable to the proprietors than any known kind of agriculture.

English Clearances.

The clearing system then commenced. In defiance of repeated Acts of Parliament, the practice of pulling down houses, villages, and even towns, of turning the inhabitants adrift, and converting their arable lands into sheep pastures, was carried to a great extent during several reigns, and was only put a final stop to by the settlement law of 13 & 14 Car. II. One law (the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 13) goes so far as to prohibit the keeping of more than 2,000 sheep by any one person. Mr. Pashley tells us, that the first of a series of statutes, passed to prevent the conversion of pasture land into tillage, was the 4th of Hen. VII. c. 19 (1483). It prohibits the pulling down farmhouses to which twenty acres of arable land were annexed. The same Act recites, that "Great inconveniences daily doth increase by desolation, and pulling down and wilfull waste of houses and towns within this his realme, and laying to pasture lands which customably have been used in tilth, whereby idleness, ground and beginning of all mischiefs, daily do increase; for where in some towns 200 persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours, now be there occupied two or three herdsmen, and the residue fall in idleness." Similar provisions,

says Mr. Pashley, were frequently but vainly repeated during the next 150 years.

This system seems to have reached its climax in the twenty-six years succeeding to the 14th Elizabeth, during which district relief was in force in England. One of a series of six Acts, passed on the subject of the poor in 1695, is intituled "An Act against the decaying of Towns and Houses of Industry." This bill, enacting penalties for pulling down houses, and ordering that all such as had been so destroyed should, under certain regulations, be reconstructed, was brought in by the great Francis Bacon, who seems to have devoted much of his attention to legislation on this head. In his speech on introducing the measure, he said that the evils of depopulation were at that time "full ripened," and that proprietors had "inclosed great grounds, and pulled down even whole towns, and converted them to sheep pasture."

In the preamble of this act we find the following words:—*"Whereas in late years, more than in times past, there have sundrie town parishes and houses of husbandry been destroyed and become desolate, by reason whereof a great number of poor people are become wanderers, idle, and loose ;"*—so that it was during the period *when the poor were a district charge* that clearances had reached their height. So great was the profit derived by the landholders from the enormous flocks of sheep they were enabled to keep upon their cleared lands, that none of these Acts seem to have produced any effect in stopping the evil.

A definite and positive answer to the charge, that clearances and depopulation are the effect of our parochial poor laws, is to be found in the practice of those parts of the empire in which the system, introduced in England by the 13th & 14th of Car. II. c. 12, has never been in force.

In the highlands of Scotland and in Ireland, the system of clearances and depopulation has been for many years, in as full activity as it was in England in the time of Sir Francis Bacon. The poor laws which have been recently introduced into those countries, though in a right direction, have not yet given to the poor a sufficient hold on the soil of their birth to prevent these distressing scenes.

A full right to relief, accompanied by a settlement law, put an end to clearances in England. Nothing short of a similar provision can stop them in Ireland and Scotland.*

Without a settlement law, the will of the proprietor is absolute over the inhabitants of a district. Fifty or sixty habitations may be, and often have been destroyed at one blow, and their inhabitants

* The Scotch have a law of settlement, but as it is unaccompanied by the right to relief of the able bodied, when destitute, it is of no advantage to any but the infirm. See p. 33.

driven from the homes of their infancy, without a single claim being left to the victims, or a single earthly responsibility resting on the proprietors. It is not surprising that the wild justice of revenge should often have followed such scenes.

In England, with the existing law of settlement, such an occurrence would be nearly impossible. Let us suppose for a moment the single proprietor of what is called a close parish pulling down a village of fifty or sixty houses. He would immediately have between 800 and 400 paupers thrown on his hands, the greater part of whom would probably proceed at once to the work-house at his expense. He could not shake them off, or shift the burden of their support on his neighbours. They are his settled poor, and if they cannot find employment he is bound to support them.

Highland Clearances.

In a little work on Highland Emigration, published by the Earl of Selkirk in 1806, an account of the commencement of the highland clearances is to be found,

The state of the highlands before 1745 is thus described:—

“Every person above the common rank depended, for his safety and his consequence, on the number and attachment of his servants and dependents; without people ready to defend him he could not expect to sleep in safety, to preserve his house from pillage, or his family from murder. He must have submitted to the insolence of every neighbouring robber, unless he had maintained a numerous train of followers to go with him into the field, and to fight his battles.

“To this essential object every inferior consideration was sacrificed, and the principal advantage of landed property consisted in the means it afforded to the proprietor of multiplying his dependents. By allowing his tenants to possess their farms at low rents, he secured their service whenever required, and, by the power of removing every one who was refractory, maintained over them the authority of a monarch. The sacrifice of pecuniary interest was of very inferior importance, and was not a matter of choice; for any proprietor who should have acted on contrary principles, losing the attachment of his people, would have been left a prey to the violence of his neighbours.”

About ten years after the battle of Culloden, Lord Selkirk tells us that some of the younger proprietors began to discover the unprofitableness of this system. Rents far exceeding anything that had previously been known in the highlands were offered by southern sheep farmers, and those clearances began which have now continued for 100 years. Many hundreds of square miles in the highlands and islands of Scotland have been cleared of the bulk

of their population. The highland glens are filled with the ruined dwellings of the gallant and hardy races who rallied round their chieftains in 1746. Until after the breaking up of the clans, which followed the battle of Culloden, there was little difficulty in feeding or providing for them. Their country is now a sheep-walk. A solitary farmhouse occupies the ground which fifty years ago supported a numerous highland population. Many thousands of these poor people have sought refuge in a new world. Many still encumber the coast, or crowd the larger towns of Scotland, in hopeless misery. The highland parishes are generally districts of very great extent, and contain both towns and seacoast, the increase of population in which has often more than balanced the depopulation of the hills. There is, therefore, little to be learnt from the census of Scotland of the extent of the changes that have been going on; in a few cases, however, great depopulation is visible. One parish in Sutherlandshire (Kildonan) possesses no seacoast, and the census records the fate of its people :—

In 1801 there were 286 houses and 1440 inhabitants

In 1841.... „.... 43.. „.. and 256 „....

“ This decrease of the population has been occasioned by converting the whole parish into six sheep farms.”

Let those who wish to know whether the English poor laws cause depopulation, compare these results with the statistics (to be found in the Appendices) of those English close parishes which are charged with depopulation in the Reports to the Poor Law Board.

I shall not attempt to argue the difficult question, as to whether the ultimate state of Scotland may or may not be better, because the mountain population has been compelled to make place for flocks of blackfaced or Cheviot sheep. I shall not inquire whether the ground could have continued to support masters as well as their dependents in plenty, as it did before the breaking up of the clans. I shall not ask whether a law, which had conferred on those highland crofters a practical settlement on the soil that produced them, might or might not have developed new modes of management as profitable as the present plan of sheep-farming, (for I am only seeking, in the Scotch mountains, an analogy that will help me to fight the battle of the settlements of the English poor, and to argue the abstract question, as to whether our existing system be a benefit or an evil to the poorer classes). But of this I am quite certain, that had the large highland parishes been divided into townships or “*neighbourhoods*,” by a law, similar to that of the 18 & 14 of Car. II., accompanied by a full right to relief, and had each small community been thereby compelled to employ or to support its own poor, the clearances could never have taken

place, and the highland clans would still inhabit their native glens. Such a law would have given to every settled inhabitant a virtual right and interest in the soil on which he was bred. A right no less sacred, because it was to be exercised only in case of destitution, a right of which no power of the proprietor could have deprived him. It is for want of such a settlement and such a right, that the highland population have been driven from their homes with little more difficulty than the black cattle that accompanied them.

Even while I am writing, a case of highland ejection has appeared in *The Times*. I copy it, with some remarks on it from a Scotch baronet, which appeared a few days after:—

“Highland Ejections.

“A very painful sensation has been created in the north of Scotland by the forcible ejection of about sixty people from their crofts and cottages, on the property of Knoydart, in Glengarry. The facts of the case are these:—For a considerable time past the crofters on this property have, for the most part, been unable to pay their rents, and many of them were in heavy arrears. To clear the way for a more profitable class of tenantry the proprietress (Mrs. Macdonell) resolved to clear the estate; but in order that the crofters might be placed in circumstances which, in her judgment, would be for their benefit, she offered them a choice of emigration to America or Australia, undertaking to engage a vessel at her own expense, to provide them with suitable clothing, to let them sell their little stock, and forgive them all arrears of rent. The proposal appeared to be accepted by the crofters generally, and they preferred Canada to Australia, a colony of Glengarry men having been established there for half-a-century. A vessel was then engaged and sent to the Isle of Ormsay in Skye, where the emigrants were to be shipped, but when the hour of trial came, about sixty persons who had agreed to the terms of removal refused to leave their crofts, and the vessel had to sail without them, taking out 280 emigrants in all. In these circumstances, summons of removal were served on the refractory crofters and cottars, but they were unheeded. Notices to quit in forty-eight hours were then given, and these also failing in effect, the legal officers were instructed to eject the people. They met with no forcible resistance. First, the little furniture the crofters had was taken out. The officers, with their assistants, next proceeded to unroof the cottages, and then to pull down the mud walls. The scene now was truly a painful one. So long as there was a hope of being left with a covering over their heads the cottars were comparatively quiet, but now that they were homeless many of them became frantic with grief, and were driven to seek shelter in some of the neighbouring quarries, where some are now living, and others

among the caves of the rocks with which this wild district of the Highlands abounds. The crofters who were on the poor roll* were allowed to remain, but the others are all scattered. The weather has been fine since their ejection, and thus far they have been supported by the benevolence of their poor neighbours, and what little they can do at fishing; but, unless something is done for them before long, there can be little doubt but starvation will ensue,—the wives and children are most to be pitied. They all admit that their proprietress was liberal in fulfilling her engagements; and they seem conscious that they are legally in the wrong; but they cling to the home of their fathers with desperate tenacity, and, judging from their conduct in preferring ejection to emigration, and the strong feeling which they show, it is clear that they look on their case as one of expatriation.

“Whatever may be the ultimate result in this instance, the facts of the case should be well considered by our public authorities. The high prices now paid for sheep and wool have greatly increased the value of Highland property; while the repeal of the corn laws has rendered corn growing, even in the more fertile straths, a hopeless speculation. It is thus clear that the Highlands will all become sheep-walks and shooting-grounds before long, and most of the property being in the hands of legal trustees, who are non-resident, the cottars and crofters will doubtless have to leave, and when a clearance under such extenuating circumstances as those which have attended the present case is, after all, the occasion of much suffering and distress, what may we not expect when the law of ejectment comes to be mercilessly enforced? For many years the proprietors on Highland properties had a direct interest in keeping up the population on their estates, the kelp-runs being a profitable source of employment to the people, and the means of affording high rents, well paid, to the landlords. But since the kelp trade failed, and the potato blight impoverished the Highlands, its population has been felt to be a burden on the land. Now there is a prospect of getting high rents again from sheep-farms, and the question is put in reference to all these facts—if the sheep are to be more profitable than the people, as the people were formerly more profitable than the sheep, the landholder being, on the whole, a gainer by the changes, is he not responsible for the right disposal or support of those who are the chief sufferers by these transitions?”

“To the Editor of The Times.”

“Sir,—In *The Times* of the 20th inst. you have drawn attention to a very painful subject—namely, that which appears under the

* The infirm poor, who possess a full right to relief, accompanied by settlement. They cannot be cleared and must be maintained, like the English poor, by the parish of their settlement.

head of 'Highland Ejections.' Allow me, Sir, as a Highland laird, and most painfully alive to the condition of those well-disposed and primitive people—the population of our glens—to thank you from my heart for the benevolent attention you are paying to the subject, and to suggest that some strict inquiry should be made, under authority, into the circumstances attendant upon these wholesale and, I fear, in many instances, heartless removals. I have a letter, of date 21st inst., from a gentleman who has just returned from an inquiry in the Highland districts which impels me again to trouble you with my remarks. It is but too evident that, unless something be done to modify, if not to prevent, unreasonable 'ejections,' there will be a thorough clearance of our poor countrymen from their soil. Sheep farms are now becoming so valuable that it will pay our English sheep farmers to hire ships at any time, to pay for the removal of all who stand in their way. No doubt the friends of these poor people are ever favourable to voluntary emigration, and the present case is one that may have many extenuating circumstances; but still, if proprietors are to be permitted to clear out without wholesome restriction, great suffering must ensue, and common humanity calls out to vote with me.

"I trust you will pardon my frequent appeals on relative matters in behalf of the people I love, and believe me, very gratefully yours,

"Newe, Sept. 24.

CHAS. FORBES, Bart."

Irish Clearances.

To show the nature of Irish clearances, I shall make some extracts from the late Mr. Sadlier's work on Ireland, published in 1820, which takes a far more comprehensive view of the real state of that country at the time it was written, than is, I believe, to be found elsewhere.

He says, (p. 104,) "The second proposition of our political economists in favour of Ireland is the enlarging, or as formerly expressed, the 'engrossing,' of farms, by annihilating the small tenures which are at present numerous in that country; which operation has now a particular term to express it, and is called 'clearing;' a very emphatic phrase, as connected with its consequences. Hume somewhere says, 'the comparison between the management of human beings and cattle is shocking,' but what terms can convey the natural disgust one feels when the comparison is between human beings and vermin? The rage, however, is for 'clearing' estates in Ireland from these human vermin, as a meritorious sort of act, and the chief means of relieving the country; the proposal must consequently be examined a little.

“ But, first, it ought to be remarked that this proposition, a very favourite one with modern political economists, is quite an ancient expedient, and serves as an additional proof that nothing is too absurd in itself, or too misplaced in point of time, to be brought forward in behalf of Ireland, as some new discovery, some untried remedy, for the evils of that country. To say nothing about those wholesale ‘clearances,’ which the vast and successive forfeitures occasioned in remoter periods, does not Dobbs inform us a century ago, when surely a redundant population could not be alleged, that it was the practice ‘to dismiss whole villages of native Irish at once,’ and turn the poor creatures ‘adrift?’ Half a century after, we find from Bishop Woodward, that this unnatural and inhuman custom was still continued. That it is vigorously pursued at the present day, we need no proof; the only novelty of the case is, that conduct which exhibits a revolting compound of the basest, most selfish, and most unfeeling motives, is now often represented as a meritorious deed, at least by the Emigration Committee and some of its witnesses.

“ As to the cruelty of this scheme, it far exceeds the former one —(emigration). In order duly to estimate it we must attend, for a moment, to the condition in which the little agricultural tenant is placed. Unlike all others, whatever be their industrious pursuits, he is virtually at the mercy of one individual, his landlord; and if that fails him, he is at once bereft of the means of subsistence, of his daily labour, and of the house that shelters him and his family,—which, if he be an Irish tenant, in 99 cases out of 100 he built himself. In a word, deprived at once of the benefit of his past exertions, and of all his future hopes. But when a number of such are ‘cleared’ at once, (to adopt a significant phrase used in the Emigration Committee, and which we learn is now the true patriotic practice,) a crowd, composed, of course, of both sexes and of every period of life, from helpless infancy to decrepit age, including those in the prime of their days, to whom, however, health and youth are of no avail, for there is no employment to be obtained, nor any refuge or relief to be found for the wanderers, I question whether the broad eye of God beholds upon the face of the earth a greater mass of misery than is constantly created by these ‘clearances.’ Could we take from them a single case, and trace its history from the expulsion of the unfortunate wretch from his native home, ‘through all his wanderings round this world of care,’ as his own beautiful poet expresses himself,—driven from place to place, and branded as a fugitive or a vagabond everywhere, till his pilgrimage in search of employment and of bread closes, perhaps, in another hemisphere, amidst strangers, who ‘give him a little earth for charity,’ I am persuaded few of those high-wrought cases of fictitious distress which occasionally awake our ready

"sympathies, could approach the touching reality which the story would present.

"Whatever be the nature of the crime in the eyes of those who hold that '*they have no business to be where they are*,'* and who act upon that opinion, the punishment is, in fact, a severer form of that which is in most cases awarded as a sentence upon felony. Political economy has, on the one hand, inveighed against a large population, and on the other against small farms; and its converts have acted upon the palatable doctrine—the population have been expelled from their native fields like a drove of oxen, driven they knew not where, and withstood wherever they have attempted to take refuge. The fires have been quenched upon thousands of hearths, and the plough now drives over the foundations of many an humble abode, which was once the refuge of peace and happiness. Some of the wretched survivors may, perhaps, linger among the ruins of their former habitations; but most of them have to seek refuge elsewhere, some in this country, some across the Atlantic."

Irish rebellions.

Mr. Sadlier says again, (p. 112,) "As respects that country (Ireland), not only has the entire system of administering the landed property, especially that part of it called 'clearing,' inflicted private wrongs of the most fatal character, but it has been, most assuredly, the fruitful source of those public outrages which have so long disfigured the annals of that unhappy country. I am aware that some Irish landlords, and their apologists, have very dexterously attributed these outrages to the tithing system, as if anybody upon earth could believe that such landlords as they generally are, in respect of nine-tenths of the produce, would be kinder than ecclesiastical ones, were they put into possession of the remaining tenth; but more concerning this position hereafter. To mention a few of these fatal disturbances and insurrections: that in Munster, in the year 1760, originated in the oppressive treatment of many landed proprietors, especially in their *turning adrift vast numbers of the old tenantry of the province*, 'in order to throw many farms into one,' to obtain, if possible, a greater 'surplus produce,' to use the phraseology of the day. Numbers were thus at once deprived of their ancient holdings, probably the possessions of their forefathers; they were called *levellers*; and several years elapsed before they were put down. One of the Irish historians thus describes this insurrection:—

"It was occasioned by the expulsion of great numbers of labouring peasants, destitute of any regular means of subsistence by any other species of industry; while those who remained unex-

* Malthus's Essay, p. 531.

"pelled, or procured small spots of ground, had no means of paying
 "the exorbitant rents, even by labour, the pay of which was, by
 "the smallness of the demand, beyond all due proportion low.*
 "The misery of these cottagers was completed, when they were, by
 "inclosures, deprived of commonage, which to many had been at
 "first allowed. Numbers of them secretly assembled in the night,
 "and vented their fury on objects ignorantly conceived to be the
 "cause of this misery. I hardly know whether this insurrection
 "was the same with that of the *White Boys*; in their cause,
 "however, they were identified; which was the intolerable oppres-
 "sion of the landed proprietors. In 1763 and 1764 the *Hearts of*
 "*Steel* appeared. This fatal insurrection was likewise excited by
 "the cruelty of the same class, exercised through the medium of
 "their subordinate agents, the middlemen, who demanded exces-
 "sive fines, and racked the old tenants to an extent utterly beyond
 "their power to pay. They were '*cleared*.' The hapless peasants,
 "being thus abandoned, gave way to the impulse of their un-
 "governable passions, and vented their fury on those whom they
 "considered as their oppressors. 'These commotions' (I am
 "quoting Mr. Wakefield at present) 'afford a striking and melan-
 "choly proof of the country at the time they took place; and, as
 "they arose from causes unconnected with public measures, may
 "convince those who ascribe every evil thus experienced to the
 "government, that national misfortunes depend more on the con-
 "duct of individuals than is generally believed or admitted.' To
 "pass over many minor disturbances, the *Right Boys* appeared in
 "about 1786, and marched in hostile bodies of hundreds, and
 "sometimes thousands. The real origin of this insurrection may
 "be best given in the words of the then Attorney-General of
 "Ireland, the Right Hon. John Fitz-Gibbon, who declared in his
 "place in the Irish Commons House, on that occasion, that though
 "tithes had been mentioned as the cause of it, yet such was not
 "the fact, but that it arose from 'the peasants being ground down
 "to powder by exorbitant rents, who were so far from being able
 "to pay their dues to the clergy, that they possessed not food or
 "raiment for themselves.' In a word, he boldly threw the wretch-
 "edness, misery, and guilt he described, at the door of their in-
 "exorable landlords. These were again '*cleared*' and put down. I
 "shall not attempt to enumerate the whole of the events; but
 "will only mention another case of a public nature—the private
 "and individual sufferings inflicted by this system are, of course,
 "never heard of, or recorded. The manner in which the tenantry,
 "on the estates of a great Irish absentee, in the county of Limerick,
 "have been recently treated, caused those disturbances which have
 "but lately terminated. We may judge how widely 'the peace

* Gordon's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 240.

"of a country would be affected, when a body of 20,000 tenantry were thrown into a state of furious agitation.' The eminent statesman I quote,* who was for a considerable time officially connected with the country, fully sanctions me in all I have said. Speaking of the 'commotions which for the last sixty years have tormented and desolated Ireland,' he pronounces that 'they all sprung immediately from local oppressions.'

"Finally, then, who can doubt but that the elements of the late Irish rebellion, whatever might be the motives of the prime agitators, were that neglect, and cruelty, and oppression, and consequent poverty and distress, under which the peasantry of Ireland groaned for so many generations; when in addition to many public and political wrongs, fancied or real, so vast a number were smarting under the severer inflictions of private injuries, or treasuring up the remembrance of such as had been perpetrated upon others dear to them, their parents, their families, their friends?"

English Settlement.

Speaking of our *English law of settlement* in connection with the subject, Mr. Sadlier says, "I cannot impress too strongly upon the reader's mind the difference between this kind of conduct in Ireland and in England; in the former country it amounts to unmitigated cruelty and oppression; the sufferers are expelled and done with for ever. *In England, however, the proprietor, who so acts, knows that those whom he expels he has still to maintain, if they cannot procure other employment.*"

Much has been recently done for Ireland, and a majority of the present proprietors are nobly striving to remedy the evils and heal the sores of long-continued misgovernment. The great boon that has been granted to the Irish people in the establishment of a poor law, has already effected a striking and significant change. Let us not forget that the last attempt at a revolution in Ireland, at the moment when the lower classes all over Europe were most unsettled and most favourably disposed for revolt, was put down by a handful of police, themselves recruited among the lower classes of the Irish, without distinction of creed, after a bloodless scramble in a cabbage garden.

Had the former feelings of the Irish people, that they were neglected and despised, and left by the law to starve, been in their pristine force, the result might have been far different. It is my firm belief that the fact of having given every Irishman a legal right to "a sufficiency for his subsistence, or the means of obtaining it," has put an end for ever to rebellion in Ireland.

I feel quite confident that if the poor laws in Ireland are admin-

* Right Hon. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg.

istered for the next 20 years, not with "harshness and severity," but with kindness and humanity—that if the "*incalculable advantages*" described by Mr. Gulson in an admirable letter quoted at page 81, are extended, and not checked—that the very employment consequent upon limited areas of chargeability will work a complete change in the condition of both rich and poor; that the employment that property will be bound to afford, in order to escape from yet heavier charges, will augment the value of that property with a rich interest, while it will have the much desired effect of converting the lower class of Irish into a *labouring* class. It is not reasonable to assert that there is anything in the race or blood of the Celtic Irish which makes them lazy, when we know that the mere passage of the Channel makes hard-working men of them. The reason the lower class of Irish have been unwilling to work in their own country is, that it has not been their interest to do so, rather than from any inherent dislike or disability. Mr. Gulson in his letter announces the commencement of a new era, and points out the source from which these "*incalculable advantages*" are to be derived. The same source from which England acquired them.

The Irish poor law has been much altered since its introduction, and every change has been in the right direction. The real fault now is, that its settlement law is only between electoral divisions in the same union, and does not extend generally throughout the country.

The greatest evil that still remains in Ireland, with regard to the management of the poor, could only be put a stop to by such an extension of settlement. Clearances would cease if the burden of the evicted paupers could no longer be shifted on the towns and villages into which they may resort, and if the cost of clearing was thus made, as in England, greater than that of employing the poor. The great cruelty and anomaly of Irish removals from England would be prevented, if every Irishman had a settlement; and if those English authorities who ordered the removal were bound to deliver up the parties removed to the workhouse authorities of the union of their settlement or birth, instead of merely throwing them naked and starving on Irish soil, to choke the workhouses nearest to the seaports, which have themselves no power to forward these poor creatures to the homes of their youth and the dwellings of their friends and relations.

One generation of sufficient and well-ordered relief, and employment to the Irish poor, and 40,000 men will no longer be needful in time of peace to garrison that country against her poorer classes. Lord Clarendon prevented the last attempt at rebellion in Ireland by feeding the poor. God grant that no future Lord Lieutenant, by countenancing a different system, may open the partially healed wounds of that unhappy country!

CHAPTER VII.

WOULD THE REPEAL OF THE LAW OF SETTLEMENT BE
ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE POOR?

"With a new fashion, when Christmas is drawing on,
On a new journey to London straight we all must be gone,
And leave none to keep house but our new porter John,
Who relieves the poor with a thump on the back with a stone."

—OLD BALLAD.

If it be an advantage to a labourer that his wages should be increased, and his employment rendered more certain, during the first flush of his youth and strength, when he is probably unmarried, and has no mouth but his own to fill, and when he can, without inconvenience, migrate, in search of employment, to a distance from his home, or without difficulty turn his hand to some new species of labour;—in order to decrease the wages of the same labourer, and to render his employment less fixed and certain during the latter moiety of his life, when gradually advancing age shall have stiffened his limbs, or sickness, accident, or rheumatism may, in some degree, have impaired his powers;—and when he has, in all probability, a wife and helpless family dependent on his weekly earnings for their support;—and if, in the latter case, it be an advantage to him that, when employment fails, and he is thrown out of work (while the younger and stronger men are continued in full employment), that the relief, which he has a right to claim, should be dealt out to him with a harsher and more niggardly hand than at present;—and if it be an advantage to him that he should tell the story of his distress to men who know him not;—that he should appeal to the charity of a board of strange guardians from distant parishes, or to the mercy of a paid official, instead of to his parishioners and neighbours, to whom he has from childhood been intimately known, and between whose families and himself many acts of reciprocal kindness may have passed in former and happier days, and before whom the picture of the misery and distress of his starving family would be always present, in case he were denied relief, or that the relief granted were insufficient for their maintenance;—if, I say, all this be advantageous to the interests of the labouring poor, then the repeal of the law of settlement would prove of inestimable service to them.

Of the effects of the settlement law much has been said and written, and many persons have been persuaded, by exaggerated accounts of the evils of removal, and by such works as that of Mr. Cooode, that it is a law of cruelty and injustice to the poor. I am confident that such a supposition is contrary to the fact. The chief promoters of the repeal of that law are to be found in the party of the old Poor Law Commissioners. The following extracts

from their evidence before Committees of both Houses of Parliament will show that, in urging its abolition, they all anticipate that its effects will be what I have here described. That it will promote that harsher and more severe administration of relief, and that more stringent application of the workhouse test, which it has always been their endeavour to enforce; and that, at the same time that the pauperism of the country would be largely increased, the evils of that pauperism would be far more cruelly and severely felt.

I may state, as a preliminary, that almost all the witnesses examined by the Lords' Committee on the burdens affecting real property, as well as most of the gentlemen I am about to quote, distinctly allow that a very large amount of employment is afforded to old, inferior, or partially infirm labourers, on account of their settlement, and in order to keep them from the parish.

I shall begin with the evidence of Mr. N. W. Senior, who was one of the most active of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry.—(Evidence before the Lords' Committee on Burdens on Land, 1846.)

(A. 5547). "I think all settlement a bad thing; and, therefore, the wider the range the better. I should prefer an union settlement to a parochial settlement, and I should prefer a county settlement to an union settlement."

(Q. 5548). "And a parochial settlement to a township settlement, in the north of England?"

(A.) "Certainly."

(Q. 5549). "But that would be open to the same objection of inequality?"

(A.) "Certainly; there is that objection."

(Q. 5560). "Under the system of no settlement, a poor man might go to any parish that he pleased, and claim relief when he pleased?"

(A.) "Yes; and there would be a strong motive in every parish to the strict administration of the law, because the consequence would be that all the lax parishes would find the paupers crowd in upon them."

(Q. 5551). "Would it not be a motive of the landowner in parish A. to give 5s. to a pauper to go into parish B.?"

(A.) "Certainly."

(Q. 5552). "And they would go naturally into the most indulgent parishes, where they were best treated; and, therefore, it would be an inducement to severity and harshness?"

(A.) "Yes; AND I BELIEVE THAT WHAT ARE CALLED SEVERITY AND HARSHNESS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF, ARE BY FAR THE BEST THINGS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE LABOURING CLASSES."

Again he is asked: (Q. 5564). "You cannot suggest any prac-

“ tical measure by which land could be relieved of the burden of the poor ?”

(A.) “The only measure that I can suggest would be *as strict an administration as possible. I should like to see the workhouse system introduced in England nearly in the same way that it is in Ireland.*”

With such sentiments, it is not surprising that Mr. Senior should wish to abolish settlement.

Mr. Coode, then Assistant-Secretary of the Poor Law Commission, in his evidence before the same Committee, also proposes the abolition of settlement. He agrees with Mr. Senior in thinking that the abolition of settlement would lead to a harsher administration of the poor laws. He is asked :

(Q. 5749). “Do you not think that the poor, under the system you have proposed, of abolishing the law of settlement, would be apt to crowd into parishes where the administration of the poor law was relaxed ?”

(A.) “There is a great number of poor who would probably be induced to go to the parishes where the administration of relief was relaxed. That was a fact witnessed to a certain extent formerly, *when a much larger proportion of the population was pauperized ;** when relief generally was more laxly administered. I believe it was a good deal exaggerated at the time, and that it very rarely takes place now. I do not think there is much evil to be apprehended of that kind ; *at all events it would be possible so to administer relief as to counteract the tendency, and that the motives to do so, in order to guard against the irruption of strange poor, would be more operative in favour of a careful administration of relief than the present law, which, by restricting the number of possible claimants on the rates, affords an apparent but fallacious security to the parish.*”

In answer to *Question 5759*, as to the possibility of trying partially the experiment of the abolition of settlement, *i. e.* in some districts, and not in others, he says :

“*The question asked assumes that relief would be facilitated by abolishing the law of settlement, which, I believe, would not be the effect.*”

How, then, can Mr. Coode pretend, in his report published two years later, that it is for the welfare of the poor that he wishes to abolish settlement ?

I cannot refrain from quoting the following passage from Mr. Pigott's evidence before the Settlement Committee of 1847. In describing the bad effects of the law of settlement on the poor, he says (A. 3404) : “Since then (the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act), there prevails, and particularly in the west

* Before the establishment of the settlement law and the division of large parishes into townships (by the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12).

"of England—I should say in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, and, I am sorry to say, in parts of Buckinghamshire also—the *most objectionable practice* of preferring to employ married men with large families, simply because there would be the necessity of maintaining them, if they were not employed, and the cost of maintaining them would be much greater than that of maintaining single men. The result is that a single man gets disgusted; he feels that it is very hard, knowing that he is a stronger, or a more skilful labourer, that he should have 7s. or 8s. a week, when the other, and the less efficient man, is paid 9s. or 10s.; he turns sulky; he does not half work; he acquires habits of indolence, which at last become settled with him; he becomes very often a poacher or a vagrant; frequently an inmate of the workhouse—which leads, I fear, in most instances, directly to those pursuits."

The question stands thus:—

Given—two labourers, one single, the other with a wife and six children, and only work for one of them. In this case we are to assume that the married man is the least skilful workman; but the reverse may frequently be the case, especially where any skilled labour is required. One of them is to go to the workhouse. I fully agree with all Mr. Pigott says of the contamination, vagrancy, and crime, to which such a misfortune usually leads. The question is, if it be better that the single man should be contaminated, or that contamination should be extended to the husband, the wife, and the six children.

The Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Buckinghamshire ratepayer thinks it better to expose one than eight to contamination. Mr. Pigott is of a contrary opinion. Again, the ratepayer thinks it cheaper and better to maintain one person in the workhouse than eight. Mr. Pigott, it appears, thinks otherwise.

I confess that I prefer the political and domestic economy of the ratepayer to that of Mr. Pigott. If the law of settlement were repealed, this "*most objectionable practice*," of preferring the welfare of eight individuals to that of one, would be abolished, and married labourers with large families would be pauperized and hurried into those schools of vagrancy and crime—the union workhouses. Can any one be hardy enough to assert that this would be advantageous to the labouring class? Mr. Pigott does not think that labourers are confined to their parish by the settlement laws.

He is asked:

(Q. 3491). "Your impression is that, in the rural districts, *under the present system, the workhouse test obliges the labourer to seek employment as far as he can fairly go?*"

(A.) "I think so."

The great emigration and migration which is taking place

from Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and that district of the west of England where wages have been below the average of England, is fast putting an end to the state of things on which all this argument is grounded.

Mr. Chadwick was another of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry, and for many years Secretary to the Poor Law Commission. In his evidence before the Settlement Committee of 1847, there is a point which must not be overlooked. He says (2049 and 2350) that, by the abolition of settlement, and *by doing away with local administration*, he could reduce the gross amount of the poor's rates by one million out of five, at the same time that he would employ better and more highly paid officers.

It would require a large number of such officials to complete Mr. Chadwick's "*Bureaucracy*," whose salaries would be taken from the poor's rates, in addition to the million proposed to be saved. The figures would probably stand thus:—

Existing Distribution of an Expenditure of £5,000,000.	
Establishment charges	£ 750,000
Paid for the relief of the poor	4,250,000

Probable Distribution of a similar Sum under Mr. Chadwick's Plan.

Establishment charges	£1,000,000
To be saved	1,000,000
Remains for the relief of the poor . .	3,000,000

So that the poor would be the actual losers of £1,250,000 per annum, or considerably more than a quarter of the sum paid for their relief, by this precious plan, devised by Mr. Chadwick for their benefit. They would also lose those sums paid annually in the employment of inferior, or partially infirm labourers, in the parishes of their settlement, in order to prevent their falling on the rates.

Mr. Chadwick, therefore, openly avows his wish to repeal the law of settlement and abolish the parochial system, in order that he may be enabled to screw from the inferior moiety of the labouring classes, from the aged, the infirm, the widow, and the orphan, a very large portion of the sums that are now legally and charitably expended for their relief and maintenance.

No one who has followed the proceedings of the original Poor Law Commission, of which Mr. Chadwick, as secretary, was one of the chief authorities, can be surprised at his advocating this, or any other reduction in the rates. But that any man who has considered the case can seriously assert that he believes that these changes would be advantageous to the poor, fills me, I must confess, with astonishment.

Again he is asked :

(Q. 2085.) "You think that if parochial settlement was done away with, the boards of guardians so elected would be more unanimous; that they would *cease to feel that individual interest which they now have in favour of their particular parish?*"

(A.) "Yes. *I think they would be more economical in their management*, and that they would decide more equally upon the cases before them; in fact, they *do decide much better in what I call the existing unions for rating and settlement—the larger town parishes*. The officers who serve in these quasi unions for rating and settlement tell us that the decisions of those boards upon cases are *much better* than the decisions of unions of parishes; there is less of division, less of contention among them, and altogether it is more satisfactorily administered to the destitute classes themselves."

When Mr. Chadwick says "*they decide much better*" in the large town parishes, does he mean that they dole out a much scantier pittance to the poor?

The following extract from a speech of Mr. Muntz, M.P. for Birmingham, shows the nature of the *better decisions* in such cases. He said:—

"Any man who had resided in a large town, and saw how the poor law was worked, or how it was attempted to be worked, must be aware of the great injustice done to the ratepayers by the workhouse test being applied by hard-hearted guardians, of whom there were too many, in cases where the heads of families are disabled by temporary sickness; and it was quite heart-rending to see the effects of this test on the industrious and struggling poor."

Any one who will follow for a few weeks the columns of the daily papers, will meet with most appalling cases of misery, caused by what Mr. Chadwick calls the "*better and more economical decisions of the guardians of the great town parishes*," the existing unions for rating and settlement. Where else could you find such horrible and illegal barbarity as that twenty or thirty persons should lie nightly on the cold stones before the doors of the workhouse, as has recently been shown to be the case in the metropolis?

Where again shall we find socialism progressing among the lower classes—the seeds of a discontent that may some day, if the real rights of the poor are denied them, bring about a revolution that will sweep every spark of true liberty from the land? Where, but in those very town parishes whose condition Mr. Chadwick so much admires; aye, and caused, in great measure, by that very harsh and severe administration of relief that he and Mr. Senior wish to make general. It would be very difficult to persuade any one that Mr. Chadwick advocates the abolition of settlement from any sentimental tenderness for the poor.

Mr. Gulson, senior poor-law inspector, gives his opinion in the following words :—

(Q. 1482.) “Do you not think that in many cases, in consequence of the relief being parochial, and not being union relief, as you propose, infirm labourers, or people advanced in age, are now employed; whereas they would not be employed supposing the relief were union relief?”

(A.) “Supposing that be the case, *I think it is possible that some of those persons might be deprived of work*; but then the work would be required to be done, and would be done by more able and more skilful workmen; *the poor person referred to would, under the system of union settlement, obtain a fair amount of relief, though he might not get work, and the able workman would be benefited by having a greater amount of employment*; and the employer would also be benefited by having his work done by a more skilful workman.”

(Q. 1490.) “The question refers to people under sixty years of age. What proportion, in any parish, do you suppose would come under the definition of indifferent labourers, from want of physical power or want of skill?”

(A.) “Say half; that would be a large proportion.”

By the repeal of the law of parochial settlement, Mr. Gulson would break up the homes of many thousand poor families, and reduce them to pauperism and the workhouse, *in order to benefit able workmen, and to afford them more employment*. It was not to assist these able workmen that our poor laws were enacted.

Mr. Tuffnell, assistant poor-law commissioner, is asked,

(Q. 8075.) “The usual objection to a union settlement is that it would remove the motives to employ the labourers who have settlements in parishes, solely because they have settlements there?”

(A.) “*The effect of union settlement would be to throw a great number of them upon the rates, for a short time at least, but that would not necessarily increase the amount of pauperism; it would only display the amount of pauperism which there is in the country; and if there is a surplus population, that would make it clear, and necessitate, possibly, some such measure as emigration to get rid of it. At present we do not know what is the pauperism of the country.*”

(Q. 8076.) “Those persons you consider as not *bona fide* earning wages, but in fact as receiving charity?”

(A.) “Exactly so.”

(Q. 8077.) “The effect of such a change in the law would be that they would receive the rates openly instead of being supported by this kind of inappreciable charity?”

(A.) “Yes.”

Again he says, (3089.) "*Many of those labourers who would be thrown upon the union as bad labourers, and who will not get employment, are bad because of the operation of the settlement laws. If you alter those laws, and have a union settlement, you will take away the cause which makes them bad labourers, and the process of improvement will immediately commence. That in the process there would be some difficulty and some hardships experienced, I do not doubt in the smallest degree.*" It is impossible to change any system without encountering some difficulty in the process, and there would doubtless be difficulty here. But I consider that an improvement would immediately take place in the skill and character of the labourers, because you would give them motives to improvement which at present they have not, inasmuch as they know they must be employed whether they are good and skilful labourers or not."

So the aged and inferior portion of the labouring classes are to be *improved* by being sent to the workhouse!!!

Mr. Tuffnell, it appears, finds that there are in England tens of thousands of middling, not first-class labourers who have during their whole lives honestly maintained their families on their weekly wages. Any body but a political economist, any body else, from Burleigh and Bacon downwards, would have thought this state of things most desirable. But Mr. Tuffnell has discovered that all these men ought to be paupers; and that by a judicious alteration of the law, taking from them the protection of their parochial settlement, they might be made so. He proposes that this be forthwith done, and the advantage to be gained from it is that we should then know the extent of the pauperism of the country. He proposes to manufacture paupers for the express purpose of counting them. This is too bad.

With regard to any benefit the more skilful labourer might derive from the change, it must be but temporary, as a few years must reduce him to the class of those who are to be injured by the proposed alteration.

By Mr. Tuffnell's own showing, an increase of pauperism and hardship are the immediate results to be expected from the repeal of parochial settlement.

One of the chief objects of the early Poor Law Commissioners was undoubtedly to reduce the expenditure for the relief of the poor to the lowest point that the humanity of the nation would admit.

Mr., now Sir George Nicholls, was a Poor Law Commissioner during the whole existence of that board. He is one of the great advocates of the abolition of settlement. In his evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords on Irish poor law in March, 1843, he said,

(5468.) "There was a very strong feeling throughout England, at the time the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed, *that the relief of the poor should be limited to the workhouse, and I participated in that feeling.* The original draft of the amended English poor law bill was in that form."

(5473.) "During the first four or five years after the passing of the English Poor Law Amendment Act, *we worked as firmly as we could towards the reduction of out-door relief, and we did succeed in reducing it to a considerable extent.*"

The following figures, taken from Parliamentary returns, showing the amount of in-door and out-door relief during several years, prove how completely the Poor Law Commissioners failed in practice to carry out the intention of its founders in doing away with out-door relief:—

	1841.	1842.	1846.	1847.
Out-relief	£2,494,694.	£2,585,732.	£2,755,788.	£2,971,189.
In-maintenance	£741,700.	£769,257.	£689,602.	£769,481.
Establishment charges.	£762,120.	£750,848.	£745,081.	£761,849.

The success, then, which has attended the Poor Law Amendment Act, has been occasioned by the good sense and humanity of the people of England, who, except in particular cases, refused to press the workhouse test on the poor to the extent desired and recommended by the Commissioners.

I believe that had the recommendations of the original Poor Law Commissioners been carried into effect to their full extent, nothing could have saved this country from a servile war, and one in which right and justice would have been on the side of the people. Chartism never raised its head in so formidable a manner as during those years of harshness and severity. The Poor Law Commissioners of that day appear to have thought it their first duty to protect property against the rates. They had another duty still more sacred to perform—to secure the effectual relief of all honest poverty. The indignation of the nation was at length aroused by the awful disclosures of the Andover Union, and the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine into them, did not very long precede the breaking up of the Commission. Most of the malpractices proved to have existed in that union were, it will be seen, traced directly to the printed recommendations of the Poor Law Commissioners. I shall give some extracts from the report of this Committee, of which Lord Courtenay, the present secretary to the Poor Law Board, was chairman. The result of this investigation was the relaxation of

that system of "hardship and severity," which it is now attempted to re-introduce by means of the abolition of the law of parochial settlement.

The report of the Andover Committee was made on the 20th of August, 1846, after a laborious investigation of four months.

It was resolved, "That it is the opinion of the Committee,

"That in regard to the non-allowance of partial relief to the aged and partially disabled, a principle which appears to have been generally acted upon in the Andover Union, the Committee feel bound to express their apprehension that, if rigidly carried out, it may lead to serious individual hardships, without any equivalent amount of public advantage. It is just to add that *the board of guardians have in this respect only followed out the recommendation of the Poor Law Commissioners in their annual reports and other publications*, though no order has been issued by the Poor Law Commissioners to that effect."

"That the bad administration of the Andover workhouse, and the rigour with which the board of guardians, *generally acting in accordance with the frequently published views of the Poor Law Commissioners*, have carried out the law, *have often been the means of inducing labourers to accept reduced wages in order to avoid the workhouse.*"

Again, on workhouse dietary:—

"The Committee believe that from the formation of the union until last autumn, the general dietary of the union was, in quantity at least, too low, and more particularly *that the allowance of bread was insufficient*; and they find that this dietary was often further diminished by the dishonesty of the master." "It has been proved before the Committee that some of the inmates of the workhouse were in the habit of eating raw potatoes and grain and refuse food which had been thrown to the hogs and fowls."

"That it has also been proved that during the continuance of that dietary, inmates of the workhouse, employed in bone crushing, *ate the gristle and marrow of the bones which they were set to break.*"

Finally, with respect to the dismissal of two assistant Commissioners, the Committee were of opinion—

"That in both cases the *time of the compulsory resignation has been the means of cruel injustice*, Mr. Parker having been called upon to resign before the excitement arising out of the Andover Union had subsided; and *Mr. Day at the close of the Inquiry into the South Wales disturbances in 1843*, so as to lead the public to ascribe blame to both, which the Commissioners

"acknowledge to be unmerited, and to divert existing public dissatisfaction from the Poor Law Commissioners by concentrating it on Mr. Parker and Mr. Day respectively."

Mr. Nicholls was at that time senior member of the Poor Law Commission.

Mr. Chadwick was secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners.

Mr. Coode was an assistant-secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners.

Mr. Gulson was senior assistant Commissioner.

Mr. Tuffnell was an assistant Commissioner.

Thus, among the very men who are now pressing for the repeal of the Act of Settlement, are those who so long and strenuously laboured for a more stringent enforcement of the workhouse test, and a "harsher and more severe" administration of relief. The abolition of settlement is now only pressed for as a means of carrying out these favourite theories. The change is avowedly demanded as a means of "introducing the workhouse system in England nearly the same way that it is in Ireland," which, as may be seen by a reference to the returns quoted at p. 48, would constitute a complete subversion of our existing system of poor relief. They wish to deprive the poor of the interference and protection of their parochial guardians and neighbours, who often feel a personal interest in preserving them from suffering, and to introduce a more economical system, under the direction of paid officials, or, at the best, of a board of strange guardians, by whom they would be regarded in the light in which we usually regard a tramp or vagrant.

The benefits promised are,

1st. That a vast number of inferior, or partially infirm, labourers, now working for wages, will be pauperized, and, with their families, thrown on the poor's rates.

2nd. That the said poor's rates will be diminished by more than one quarter.

These two things can only be compatible with each other through an increase of destitution which it is appalling to contemplate.

I pray that God will protect the poor from the misery that awaits them if these men gain their ends.

The poor man, deprived of his settlement, would be left entirely at the mercy of his landlord, sometimes even of his employer. Let us suppose an estate to possess forty cottages tenanted by agricultural labourers, nearly one-half of whom, according to Mr. Gulson's estimate, will be (for some reason or other) inferior workmen. The proprietor, on true economic principles, may say, "I cannot afford to employ these men. I can have none on my estate but first-rate labourers, and I can make a profit by paying them more wages than I do to these inferior men."

They are at his mercy. At his bidding they must turn out. Five, ten, or twenty families may be evicted at one blow to make room for more able and more profitable workmen. Men, women, and children, beds and clothing, may be huddled together into the road at a few weeks' notice, and their maintenance thrown upon the union fund; the share of it paid by the late landlord being almost nominal. Again, supposing a family to offend their landlord—they may be poachers, wood-stealers, chestnut-pickers, or their fault may be, perhaps, imaginary, such as a few indignant words to a tyrannical bailiff—out they must go, to the workhouse or to starvation. Their cottage may have another inmate, or it may be pulled down before they are well clear of it.

I have heard many landed proprietors remark that the cottages on their estate were a loss, rather than a gain to them; that repairs, expenses, and casualties, often consumed more than their rent. They cannot now destroy them, for they are tenanted by the settled poor. But when that restraint of settlement is gone, they will, in many instances, clear their estates. The very evils that have falsely been attributed to settlement will be the certain consequence of its abolition.

Again, let us suppose a strike to have taken place in a manufacturing town. The capitalists may choose to set a black mark against the names of a large number of the leading remonstrants; 100, 500, 1,000 families may be doomed to be employed no more in the parish of their birth, or, at any rate, from which they have, by five years' residence, become irremovable. They cannot now be thrown out of work and made destitute, because that destitution would recoil on the authors of it, so long as limited parochial chargeability is retained.

But once spread the charge over an extended area, and no bounds can be placed to the vindictiveness with which such an offence might be visited on the working population, who had lost the protection of their settlement. In depriving them of their settlement, you will take from the poor substantial rights. They will have no claim left to reside anywhere. It will be the interest of no one to employ them in their age and partial inferiority, and the only care taken for them by strange guardians will be to ascertain the smallest possible amount to which their demands upon the union fund can be reduced. Many, as was the case at Andover, must be driven to accept insufficient and starvation wages. The number and necessity of a man's children will no longer aid him to procure food for them, and the deadly hunger-rot will spread its ravages through our villages, and sweep away the children of our no longer protected peasantry.

CHAPTER VIII.

WOULD THE REPEAL OF THE LAW OF SETTLEMENT BE
ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE RATEPAYERS.

Some of those who are urging the abolition of the parochial system, hold out to the ratepayers the prospect of a sordid gain at the expense of the poorer classes. They are told that they may reimburse themselves for the loss of their self-dependence—for the loss of that healthy popular element which pervades the local self-government of England, by means of a million of money, scraped out of the pittance allotted by the existing laws, for the relief of the indigent. Mr. Pashley, who estimates the number of persons (who receive relief from the poor's rates at 3,000,000, or one third more than the official accounts), shows (page 18 to 21) how small a proportion of the poor's rates is expended for the relief of able-bodied adult males. If they form "an army of 300,000 men," and remain chargeable on an average "for two months each," during the year, at the rate of 2s. 0d. or 2s. 6d. each per week, the whole sum paid for their maintenance out of an expenditure of £5,000,000, would not exceed one-tenth of the whole—even this would be probably required for the maintenance of their families, rather than themselves. Mr. Pashley calculates that about 1,000,000 of the whole number are children. The remaining 1,700,000 paupers are made up (in the proportion of seven females to four males) of the aged and infirm, of widows and helpless females. It is in order to extract nearly a third of the sum expended for the maintenance of these poor creatures, that we are called upon to barter our independence, and to place our necks under the yoke of a bureaucracy, who will themselves devour a considerable portion of the sum which it is proposed to pare from the scanty loaf of the widow and the orphan.

I believe that even the million that is thus offered, is a bribe that could never be paid. I believe that the increased pauperism that would be occasioned by throwing the inferior hands out of work, or by reducing their wages to a sum often insufficient to maintain their families, would cause a sudden and ruinous increase of poor's rates. I believe that the struggle to keep down the rates and to reduce relief, by arbitrary rules and tests, would produce an antagonism of classes that is now unknown—that, as was the case in Ireland, laxity, confusion, and neglect, must prevail (in case of any severe pressure of the poor's rates) in direct proportion to the extent of the areas of chargeability.

I believe that when the personal feelings of interest, of humanity, and of local position, which now induce men of respectability to undertake the office of guardian are destroyed, that it will be impossible to procure the attendance of such men as now usually assemble

at our board of guardians; and, that the administration will fall into the hands of an inferior class, to be shortly replaced by paid officials, destitute of a local knowledge and interest. An extension of the size of the unions would at once render the attendance of local guardians physically impossible. Such an extension is a part of Mr. Chadwick's plan;—it is not mentioned in Mr. Baines's bill. *The President of the Poor Law Board has already the power of extending the unions to any size he may think proper*, by taking parishes from one union, without the consent of the guardians, and adding them to another. This power was not granted by the Poor Law Amendment Act, but by a more recent Act passed *sub silentio*, and almost unnoticed. It gives the president of the poor-law board the power, if union rating becomes law, of taking another and more important stride in the scale of aggression. I believe that the efforts of the poor, backed by a large portion of the respectable classes, to prevent undue parsimony in the administration of relief, on the one hand, and on the other of the officials, to reduce the rates at all hazards, so as to prove themselves worthy of their hire,* would be the commencement of a domestic struggle that could only end, if the first were successful, in an immense and destructive increase of the burdens of the poor; if the second, in a reign of chartism and social discontent, which the present authorities would be insufficient to repress, and which must lead to the immediate establishment of a powerful corps of "repressive police," *to coerce the only great nation in Europe, where the hand of every man has been for generations raised in support of the laws.*

The power to separate parishes from unions, and to add parishes to unions, without the consent of the guardians, which was given to the Poor Law Commissioners by the 7 & 8 Vict. c. 101, is not of vital consequence to the ratepayers while the establishment charges are all that can be affected by the change. But if union rating were established, such a power would become an instrument of cruel oppression. No ratepayer who lives in a lightly rated union, could go to bed in confidence that he might not, by the morrow's post, be transferred to some neighbouring union, paying perhaps four shillings in the pound.

The insecurity and instability which this abuse would cause, would be an additional spur to urge on "*a centralized administration of local rates.*"

It is not difficult to imagine instances in which the greatest hard-

* Amounts expended in relief, and the cost of management, of the Edinburgh Section of the Central Committee for the Relief of the Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

	In Relief of the People.	Cost of Management.
1st Year, 1847 - - -	£41,704 10 3	£2,635 0 11
1848 - - - -	6,174 5 2	8,627 4 7

In 1847, the relief was distributed by local unpaid committees. In 1848, by paid officials, who, locust-like, devoured the greater part of the crop.

ships would be occasioned to rate-payers by the repeal of the law of settlement.

Let us suppose a sudden and severe depression to take place in some large manufacturing union; and let us suppose their workhouse to be filled. By the simple expedient of granting insufficient relief they would be enabled to disperse the population who would have lost the protection of their settlement.

They must distribute themselves throughout the country. The workhouses in all the neighbouring unions would be choked by parties of fifties and hundreds, who would crowd from the union that was dispersing its hands. As long as there was room in the workhouses their course would be clear; but when these were full, what is a rural union to do with the next hundred that flocked to them from the manufacturing town? If they provide temporary accommodation for them, where is their number to cease? Each stranger would have as good a right to support as their oldest settled inhabitant; one sure consequence of this state of things must be vagrancy unlimited. The sudden and unforeseen influx of paupers, and increase in poor's rates, to which every union would be subject, would be so intolerable, that there must arise a general cry for a national rating, which would be forced on us in that most unjust and objectionable form, "*a centralised administration of local rates and local affairs.*"

Let not the towns imagine that they would be exempt from the new burdens occasioned by the repeal of the settlement laws. One of the London parishes is now prepared to despatch 800 of their paupers by a cheap train to Brighton, the day after Mr. Baines's bill passes into a law. They say that during the summer months, Brighton is a much pleasanter place than London, and they have no doubt that they shall see no more of their burden for at least six months.

Another phase among the many abuses that will be created if this ill-judged measure passes into a law, is the following:—In the case of a strike, such as lately occurred at Preston, no poor person who refuses to be employed at wages sufficient to maintain his family, can now claim assistance from the poor's rates. No matter whether the masters or the men be right in the dispute, it would be clearly wrong and contrary to all sound poor-law principles, to allow those who refuse to work for their maintenance, to live at free quarters on the property of the country. And yet this would be one of the direct results of Mr. Baines's bill. If a working population should choose at any time, for their own purposes, to shut up the mills and factories that are open to employ them, they would be able, by a little pre-arrangement, to quarter their wives and children, and the bulk of their population, in the workhouses throughout the land. They would thus be enabled by this bill, to ruin any set of master manufacturers at the actual cost of the rest of the community, which might at any time have to support 50,000 hands, thrown on the rates, not in con-

sequence of a failing trade, but of some disputes between them and their employers. Such a contingency is too fearful to contemplate.

A public meeting has recently been held in Preston, at which a resolution was adopted to forward the following petition to the House of Commons, praying for a special exemption from the operation of Mr. Baines's bill. I know not whether to admire most the soundness of the views of the ratepayers, or the severe satire which is conveyed in the petition :—

" TO THE HON. THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

" The petition of the undersigned inhabitant householders and
" ratepayers of the borough and township of Preston, in the county of
" Lancaster,—

" Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioners have noticed the in-
" troduction into your hon. House of a bill to abolish, in England
" and Wales, the compulsory removal of the poor, on the ground of
" settlement, and to make provision for the more equitable distribu-
" tion of the charging of relief in unions.

" *That, under ordinary circumstances, your petitioners would have*
" *hailed the introduction of such a measure with great satisfaction ;*
" but, under the present peculiar situation of the town, your peti-
" tioners believe that, unless the borough and township of Preston be
" specially exempted from the provisions of the said bill, it will bring
" ruin upon a large portion of the respectable ratepayers.

" That the present extraordinary condition of the town arises from
" the importation of a large number of unskilled pauper labourers,
" brought into the town and located at the instance of a combination
" styling itself the ' Associated Masters of Preston,'

" That the *respectable members* of the beforenamed combination,
" acting under the style or denomination of the ' Associated Masters of
" Preston,' binds each of its members by a bond to obey all orders
" passed by a majority of its members, failing in which the *respectable*
" *members* render themselves liable to a penalty of £5,000 each.

" That the unskilled paupers now being introduced into the town
" of Preston by the beforenamed combination will, under the proposed
" measure for the abolition of compulsory removals, ultimately become
" irremovable paupers chargeable upon the poor's funds, and thereby
" increase the poor-rates of the township of Preston to a most
" alarming extent, and bring to want and beggary a large body of
" those ratepayers who are now independent.

" That your petitioners therefore pray your hon. House to *insert a*
" *clause* into the said measure *specially exempting from its operations*
" *the township of Preston, and thus avert the impending ruin which,*
" *without such exemption, will fall upon the town* by the flood of
" pauper labourers now being imported into it from the distant
" counties of England, in addition to a large number of paupers from
" Ireland.

" And your petitioners will ever pray."

CHAPTER IX.

REMOVAL.

After the great "close parish case," the hardships of removal appear to form the strongest base of operations from which the centralizers can direct their attacks against our parochial institutions.

It is the chief point on which Mr. Coode has endeavoured to make converts to the monstrous doctrine, that a settlement law is injurious to the poor.

In this, as in so many other points, the facts are quite in favour of the existing law; and it can easily be shown that the abolition of "removals" under the settlement law will increase in a very great degree "*removals of another kind*" infinitely more cruel and more wanton. There is not in fact a single point in which the abolition of settlement would not operate with unmitigated severity towards the unfortunate poor. The "removals" from their homes to a workhouse, perhaps 5, 10 or 20 miles distant, of the inferior class of workmen, and those with large families, which all authorities allow will be caused by this law, will inflict far more cruel injustice on the poor than "removals" under the law of settlement, *for the same law that forces the removal will have been the cause of the pauperism.*

A pauper who is removed to the place of his settlement is, in 99 cases out of 100, sent from among strangers to the home of his youth, to the neighbourhood of his relations and early friends, and what is of more vital consequence to him, to the parish of his settlement, to the parish of his protection, to that society which, if he be not absolutely a cripple, is interested in redeeming him from the serfdom of the workhouse, and in finding him employment; in preventing him from wasting those energies and that strength which are still left to him in a life of miserable thralldom; and in rendering him, as far as the Almighty has given him strength, a reproducing member of the community, supporting himself and his family by the sweat of his brow and by the wages of his honest labour. While on the other hand, the labourer who will be thrown out of work, and removed into the workhouse by the proposed change, will have little prospect of redemption—all that personal interest which might have helped him, will have been swept away with his settlement. He may lie in the workhouse until he rots there, unless, as was the case at Andover, the "*harshness and severity*" with which relief is administered, in those then overcrowded dens of misery, be such that the poor victims are fain to accept starvation wages out of doors to escape from starvation combined with tyranny and insult within. It is contrary to common sense to call the bill now laid before Parliament "*a Bill for abolishing Removal;*" it should be entitled "*a Bill for pauperizing the Population, filling*

the Workhouses, and thereby augmenting the Number and Severity of Removals."

The immediate effect of the Poor Law Amendment Act appears to have been to reduce very considerably the costs and number of removals under the Settlement Act. In the Ninth Report of the Poor Law Commissioners (p. 34) we find these words:—"The parliamentary returns made by the overseers for the year ending March 25, 1834, state the sums expended in England and Wales in suits of law, removal of paupers, &c., as £258,604 1s. 0d. In the year 1838 this sum had decreased to £93,982." In the same Report we find (p. 35) that "the cost of all removals," (in the year 1841,) "including cost of orders, service, and travelling, but not relief before removal, amounted only to £24,796; cost of litigation, £9,187; together, £33,983." A return of the actual number of persons removed, and cost of removal during the year ending Lady-day, 1853, is in the course of preparation by the Poor Law Board.* The opinion of many persons who are likely to be well informed induces me to believe that their number will be far less than that at which Mr. Coode reckons them. The law which made poor persons irremovable after a residence of five years in any parish will have caused a considerable diminution; removals, too, as between parishes in the same union, have almost ceased. These causes, combined with the greater facilities for obtaining information about any paupers who may be, or are likely to become, chargeable, which the union system affords, and the advice and assistance so generally afforded by the clerks of the boards of guardians on these cases, will, I think, be found to have effected and to be effecting so considerable a reduction in the number and cost of removals, that they now form a far less important consideration in discussing the question of the settlement laws than they would have done a few years ago.

The following observation from the Report of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry should not be overlooked when we are considering the effect of removal on the poor. Speaking of the hardships which may accrue to persons removed, they say (p. 44):—

"A person who applies to be maintained out of the produce of the industry or frugality of others *must accept that relief on the terms which the public good requires.*"

* These returns show the following results:—

	Orders of Removal executed in England and Wales.	Number of Paupers Removed.	Total Cost of Removals.
There were in the year ending Sept., 1841 -	11,791	32,099	£24,796
The last similar return for the year ending March, 1853 - - - - }	4,846	11,465	£13,646

About 569 of the orders executed in 1853, comprising about 1,422 persons, were between parishes in the same union. The execution of such orders is only nominal; a transfer of the cost of maintaining the pauper. One-seventh is added to the figures for 1853, to make up for deficient returns.

Mr. Coode is fully aware of the great unfairness of arguing the subject of settlement and removal from the hardships which may have been occasioned by certain selected cases of removal. He brings this very prominently forward in the preface to his report, in his observations on the evidence on this subject that had been brought before him during his tour through the counties he was directed to visit and report upon. The extracts I subjoin imply a severe condemnation of others among the reports, which are almost wholly composed of the sort of evidence he here so graphically describes. Mr. Coode says, in the preface to his Report (page 4),

"On reconsidering this evidence which I have taken, I find that I cannot present one of the cases as a fair example of the common truth. There is, for instance, no case of removal which, if multiplied by 80,000, would not give a most exaggerated distortion of our annual crop of removals. There is no description of a parish grievance which, if multiplied by 15,585, would not imply a portentous falsehood.

"Commonly, the hardships of a case of removal are so much the result of the personal circumstances; the oppression of a parish so much the result of its independent mismanagement or economical disadvantages; the disappointments and costs of the law, so much the result of perverseness, litigiousness, ignorance, and blunder, that it is scarcely ever possible to eliminate the effects due to them, and to say what part of the whole is justly attributable to the law of settlement, or what modification of the law would prevent the mischief. Generally, the evidence suggests as farably the propriety of reform of the universal nature of things as any possible amendment of the law of settlement.

"Where opinions are opposed, exaggerations on both sides may commonly balance or neutralize each other. In this case, however, there is an universal discontent with the existing law, and all the exaggerations are, if not consistent, yet in one direction. It is impossible, though it is clear, that the process to attain the truth is one of subtraction, to tell how much is to be deducted to leave the residuum of common fact; at the same time there is no case which has the merit of being a good logical extreme case which at least would enable us to see practically the possible extent of the operation of the law.

"While taking this evidence I was, it is true, more or less conscious of its exaggerating tendency; and it will be seen that I have generally attempted to correct it; but in most cases I found the result of the effort to be either to strengthen the witness in his views, or to infuse into him more or less of my own, either effect being to destroy the value of his evidence as the unbiased expressions of the witness's convictions.

"On the whole, I have no more confidence, on a cool review of this evidence, in presenting it to you than should be felt by the exhibitor of a museum of monstrosities and abortions as ex-

"amples of human anatomy; and it would be as difficult to deduce the general working of the law from the one as the normal form or functions of a man from the other."

The power of removal as it existed before the passing of Pitt's Act, in 1795, was indeed in principle unjust and tyrannical. A poor man was liable to be removed at the will of the parish officers, on the pretext that he was likely to become chargeable.

It was in allusion to this state of things that Pitt himself, Adam Smith, Arthur Young, Burn, Ruggles, and other authorities quoted by Mr. Coode, addressed various observations, which have been frequently quoted, as arguments against the present law. A very unfair use of these names has been made by some of the opponents of settlement, so as to induce a casual reader to suppose that their objections to removal were applied to the law as it now exists, and not to the former state of it.

Even when accompanied by this manifestly unjust provision the law of settlement was of infinite benefit to the poor, whose condition, under its influence, continually improved.

Mr. Coode thus describes Pitt's Act (35 Geo. III. c. 101) in 1795 :—

(P. 68.) "That statute was the first to recognise some claim on the part of the poorer people of England and Wales to seek their livelihood according to their own interest and judgment. It made, so far as any law can, while the law of settlement remains, every man, while self-dependant, free to choose for himself his own domicile. It prohibited his removal by warrant from any place of his choice until he lost his self-dependance,—until he became actually chargeable."

He says again, at page 88 :—

"And it must be allowed that the law has been humanely and extensively mitigated, especially by making all persons irremovable till actually chargeable; and again, by making many who are unsettled and chargeable also irremovable. It may, moreover, be admitted that if the law of removal, such as it now is, were to be enacted for the first time as a restraint on a people heretofore free, its effect would not be very considerable." . . . "Grant to such a law, newly introduced, all the success possible, it would, after all, control the freedom of few but the actual paupers, and those on whom the condition of pauperism was impending."

Mr. Coode endeavours to quash and nullify this frank admission that the effect of the law of removal, as it at present exists, in controlling the freedom of the people, is very inconsiderable, by the following argument :—

"But wholly different is the effect of maintaining the law. The people have been so formed to it that they more easily understand its old and experienced severity than its new and untried leniency. The terrors of the cart and the whip, relentlessly used

"for a century and a quarter, not on paupers, but on bold, honest, industrious men, seeking their welfare by every laudable art known to them, *had effectually subjected the spirit of our population*. In that state of things a poor man's parish was his only harbour,—it was a place of refuge in which he was at least safe from the whip, and where, inevitable burden as he was, his masters gave him the preference of employment over all strangers, however much his betters. It is no wonder if, at that time, the parish of the settlement, the asylum of the poor, came to be viewed with some attachment, and all other parishes with terror. It is only to be wondered at that any poor man had courage to venture out of its protection into the inhospitable territory of the rest of his country.

"The father of almost every man, the grandfather of every man now living, was born in this state of things, to which his forefathers had been born for generations, and had been nursed in traditional dread of the removing constable. *When, in 1795, a new liberty dawned on a population of slaves*, they were necessarily incapable of comprehending, and still less of using it."

It is not a little surprising that Mr. Coode should thus represent the heroes of the Peninsula, of Waterloo, and of Trafalgar, the liberators of Europe, as taken from *a population of slaves whose spirit had been effectually subjugated*, who were so ground down by the slavery of their forefathers, that the two generations which have passed since their acknowledged manumission in 1795, have not been sufficient to enable them to comprehend that they are free! The gangs of British labourers, who but a few years since were engaged in laying the railroads of a great part of the continent of Europe, are not yet aware that they are free!

The enormous migration, increasing yearly with the increasing facilities of railway communication, that takes place from the agricultural to the manufacturing districts, and to the metropolis, is undertaken by persons who do not yet know that they are free!

The hundreds of thousands who flocked to London to the Great Exhibition of 1851 are not aware that they are free!

How sadly deficient in solid argument must an advocate of Mr. Coode's acknowledged abilities have been when he descended to such trash as this.

Mr. Coode gives vent to repeated bursts of astonishment that Pitt's law of 1795 produced little or no effect in the country: "Be the explanation what it may, in fact this great measure of liberty had no apparent effect." The reason is simple enough—the people were practically free before it came. Such instances of whipping as did occur during the century and a quarter before 1795, were not under the parochial settlement, but *under the vagrancy laws, which, as will be seen, Mr. Coode wishes to re-introduce in this country*.

CHAPTER X.

REMOVAL NOT THE ONLY DISPERSING CAUSE.

Large manufacturing towns, even in times of great distress, have, I believe, seldom exercised the power of removal in a great degree. Mr. Pashley however says, p. 321.—“During the period of severe “distress in Stockport, in the years 1841 and 1842, an unprecedented “number of removals was effected by the parochial authorities there.” As this case has been a good deal cited, as furnishing an argument against the law of settlement, it is necessary to examine into it.

Mr. Coppock, clerk of the guardians of the Stockport Union, stated in his evidence before the Lords’ Committee on the Burdens on Real Property in 1846,—

That the families removed from Stockport Union
 in 1842 amounted to - - - - - 272
 The persons comprised in these families amounted to - 920

Of these, he informed the Committee of 1847, that 64 cases (families), comprising 250 individuals, returned immediately to Stockport. “Some of them” (Committee of 1846, 6471) “would “get back faster than the removal officer who was sent with them.” These were probably persons who were settled in parishes at a very short distance from Stockport. After being removed they might return on the same day to their homes in Stockport, but they would have lost all possible claim to be relieved there.

The real number, then, got rid of by removal, after deducting those who returned, was only 208 families, or 670 souls, men, women, and children, out of a population, by the census of 1841, of more than 86,252. The utter insignificance of the number removed, with reference to a previous statement of Mr. Coppock’s (5265), that, on the revival of trade, the master manufacturers suffered for a considerable period for the want of hands, did not fail to strike the Committee. The loss of these few families could certainly not have affected the trade of Stockport. Mr. Coppock was asked (5288), “Are you correct in saying that it was six months almost “before the millowners recovered their hands after the removals “of 1842?

(A.) “IN A TIME OF DEPRESSION, REMOVAL IS NOT THE ONLY “DISPERSING CAUSE. THERE ARE OTHER CAUSES OF DISPERSION BESIDES REMOVAL.”

(Q. 5289.) “AND THOSE OTHER MODES OF DISPERSION WOULD “BE EQUALLY OPERATIVE, SUPPOSING THE LAW OF SETTLEMENT “WERE ENTIRELY REPEALED?

(A.) “NO DOUBT OF IT.”

The removals from Stockport were not made indiscriminately. Mr. Coppock says each case is a (5273) “*matter of calculation.*”

When a case arises, the ratepayers say, "How long is this likely to last?" They cannot tell; they say, "*This may be a case for a year, and if it lasts a year it will be cheaper to remove.*"

From this we may infer that a great proportion of those 670 persons who did not return immediately to Stockport were not able-bodied, but of that description of case which was likely to last for at least a year, and that there were among them many *used-up hands*—the aged, the sickly, and the infirm; it is not probable that a third of the number would have been wanted at the mills when trade revived. It could not have been on account of these removals that the manufacturers of Stockport were kept short of hands, for six months after hands (5264) "*began to flow in rapidly.*" It was probably for want of *those who had been dispersed by other means; "which modes of dispersion would be equally operative supposing the law of settlement were entirely repealed."*

May not the misery caused by these removals, though admitted to have been great, have been a very small part of the misery which was occasioned by the dispersion of the hands at Stockport, in 1842? The persons removed must be provided with food and necessaries, and in all cases of English removals, they are delivered up to parties who are bound to supply them with that which is sufficient for their maintenance. The misery of those who were dispersed by other means may have been very much greater.

The Poor Removal Bill was passed in 1846. The worn-out and disabled labourer, who has lived five years in any parish, becomes thereby irremovable, and doubtless a large proportion of the "cases" "*likely to last for a year,*" removed in 1842, would be now irremovable.

There are, fortunately, returns extant which bear upon this subject.

In his evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1847, Mr. Coppock gave in a return showing the number of paupers relieved in the borough of Stockport during that year of dreadful distress, as well as the cost of such relief.

TOTALS.

Year.	Number receiving Out-door Relief.	Number receiving In-door Relief.	Amount in Money, Out-door Relief.	Amount in Money, In-door Relief.	Total number of Paupers.	Total Expense.
1842.	21,391	2,122	£8,871	£3,119	23,518	£11,990

A correct return,

(signed) *Henry Coppock,*
Clerk to the Stockport Union.

The annual value of real property, in the townships comprised in the borough of Stockport, as assessed to the property tax, in the year ending April, 1815, was £68,186. It had increased between that time and April, 1843, to £157,411.

This was then the total amount of rents and profits derived from real property in that district. And what was the contribution levied for the support of the poor in 1842? Mr. Coppock tells us that the manufacturers "removed freely, and relieved freely."

A liberal feeling among the owners of property must surely have prevailed, during a year of severe temporary depression, towards that hard-working community, through whose exertions that property had in 28 years been far more than doubled in value, to say nothing of the sums realised by the manufacturers and tradespeople during that period. We shall surely find that although a few were sent home to the parishes of their settlement, those who remained were liberally provided for. Did the contribution amount to 4s., to 6s., or even to 8s. in the pound?

Not so, indeed! It was with a feeling of astonishment that I found, on comparing the figures produced by Mr. Coppock, that the whole sum paid for the relief of the poor in the borough of Stockport, during the year 1842, that year of almost unparalleled* distress, amounted to no more than 1s. 6½d. in the pound, on the annual value of real property as assessed to the property tax within that district, in the year ending April, 1843. The total sum spent for the relief of the poor in Stockport amounted to about 10s. 6d. per head during that whole year, for each pauper relieved; but the sum spent for the *out-door* relief of 21,891 poor persons was £8,871, being an average payment of only *eight shillings and threepence half-penny* per head during the 12 months for each out-door pauper relieved.

Mr. Coppock stated to the Settlement Committee of 1847 (5196), that in the union of Stockport, from 1840 to 1846, the total number of families ordered to be removed by the board of guardians in those seven years was 2,190; of this number 656 only were removed, and the others were put upon their own resources. "That is," says Mr. Coppock, "from the fear of removal, they were obliged to shift for themselves, or to go to another union where the same treatment might not be adopted; that is, their settlements inquired into, and ordered to be removed."

(A. 5201.) He says: "Where they are cases of real destitution, which I presume most of them are, the effect of making them shift for themselves is to make them starve—make them die, in fact."

(Q. 5202.) "But those did not all die?"

(A.) "Unfortunately, you can have no return of the amount of people that die from starvation in this country."

(Q. 5215.) "Can you mention one single instance in which a person, having refused to undergo removal, died of starvation, and a coroner's jury has brought in that verdict?"

(A.) "I do not think there has been, in our union at all; but, in

* It has been stated that these townships received government relief; but this seems incredible, since their poor's rates were so moderate.

" conversation with the medical officers, I have been told that many people have died from insufficient food, *especially in times of distress, which arise from those temporary stoppages which do take place in manufacturing districts.*"

(Q. 5217.) " When you use the word ' starvation,' do you not mean disease produced by insufficient nourishment ?

(A.) " Yes."

(Q. 5218.) " Not actually starved out, but disease produced, causing death ?

(A.) " I do not mean to say starved in the way that a man would be who was put into a solitary cell without food, and so kept till he died. It has this effect, the children of that family are neglected, and it leads to the death of many children, from insufficient nourishment, insufficient food, and with all disease is engendered, frequently terminating fatally."

We gather from the above evidence that many people died from *insufficient food.*

Mr. Coppock, it seems, attributes their deaths solely to the fear of removal. Before this can be established, it must be shown that sufficient relief was granted to the out-door settled poor to preserve them from a similar fate; and the figures he has himself brought forward tend to make many people suspect that the contrary may have been the case. It amounted to 8*s.* 3½*d.* per head per annum. A great deal was said some years since of the insufficiency of poor relief in Scotland, which was often not more than from 5*s.* to 10*s.* a head per annum. It was not considered enough to preserve the Scotch poor from starvation, and an amended poor law was consequently given to Scotland. Are we to suppose that a Stockport pauper can exist on a less sum than a Scotch pauper ? If not, how shall we escape from the inference derived from Mr. Coppock's evidence that many such poor may have been among those who perished from insufficient food ?

The total amount expended for the relief of the poor in the whole of England and Wales, during the year ending Lady-day, 1843, was £5,208,027. If we adopt Mr. Pashley's estimate, that the number of persons annually relieved from the poor's rates, at some period in the year, amounts to 3,000,000, we get the average amount paid in that year for each pauper as nearly £1 15*s.* a head, or more than four times as much as these out-door paupers received, as stated by Mr. Coppock, at Stockport, in the year 1842.

It seems, from his figures, that during the year

		Out-door Paupers.		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1841	..	12,918	received	8	11	each.
1842	..	21,391	"	8	3½	"
1843	..	14,504	"	10	6	"
1844	..	10,489	"	11	4	"
1845	..	7,284	"	10	0	"

According to this evidence, the amount of relief granted by the Stockport guardians to their out-door poor, in that year, 1842, of deepest distress and misery, averaged a smaller amount per head than in years of greater employment. Is it wrong to suppose that the insufficiency of this relief was one of *"those other means of dispensation besides removal which would be equally operative, supposing the law of settlement were entirely repealed?"*

It is with feelings of relief that I turn from this to a somewhat similar case of depression in a large manufacturing district.

The union of Sheffield, in the year 1849, was afflicted with a stagnation of trade of the same description as that described as having occurred in Stockport in 1842.

This has also been a very thriving district, and the value of real property in the townships, comprised in the Sheffield Union, were assessed to the property tax in 1815 at £106,650
in 1843 at 277,656.

Mr. Pashley tells us that the number of paupers relieved in this union (excluding vagrants) in the year ending Lady-day, 1849, was 23,808; number relieved in Stockport, in 1842, was 21,391.

The difference in the manner in which the power of removal was exercised was extraordinary. Mr. Pashley assures us that in Sheffield, out of 10,685 additional claimants on parochial relief, in the year ended at Lady-day, 1849, only *nineteen* were removed.

Sheffield was a union in which *"the same treatment,"* pursued at Stockport, *"was not adopted, that is, their settlements inquired into and ordered to be removed."* In which a large number of persons were not *"put on their own resources,"* that is, *"obliged to shift for themselves,"* the effect of which Mr. Coppock says, *"IS TO MAKE THEM STARVE—MAKE THEM DIE, IN FACT."* The amount of relief per head granted at Sheffield in 1849, was also very much larger than was given at Stockport. Sheffield must be *"another union"* like those to which Mr. Coppock alludes, and to which he says persons (5196) *"were obliged to go,"* or to *"shift for themselves."*

Now comes the moral of the tale. Now let us ask what effect the repeal of settlement would have on the cases before us. Distressed working populations, when they have lost their settlement, will go where most relief can be obtained.

If things could remain as they are in Sheffield, a great many hands would gladly go there, no doubt; but what would the Sheffield manufacturer say? He is ready enough to maintain, not only his own settled poor, but all those poor persons whose business has induced them to take up their residence in his district. He is ready to support, in their hour of adversity, all that labouring class that has been striving with him, in seasons of profitable trade, to bring about the great increase that has taken place in the wealth and prosperity of Sheffield. If the laws of

settlement were repealed, he could not continue to do this on the same terms as at present. Suppose, for instance, that the rate-payers of a neighbouring union wanted to disperse their hands, by means of those "*other modes of dispersion, which would be equally operative, supposing the law of settlement were entirely repealed,*" and which *would then affect the whole settled population*; suppose a thousand hands, thrown out of work, and *dispersed*, should hear that the poor were well cared for in Sheffield, and should, some cold morning, appear there and ask for relief.

What would human nature say then? The kindest, best, and most charitable human nature, which I am supposing the Sheffield manufacturer to be blessed with. The settlement laws are gone, and the 1,000 new applicants have now as much right to relief in Sheffield as elsewhere. If the Sheffield board should receive them with open arms, and treat them as they have hitherto treated their own true poor, it is not 1,000, but 10,000 they would have on their hands in a fortnight's time. The course which would be forced upon Sheffield is quite obvious; they would be obliged, in self-defence, to emulate the mode of relief adopted by their neighbours, whatever that might be, and each union must *vie* with the other in harshness and severity, in order to keep clear of such persons as might be driven from other places, which, from some cause or other, were "*dispersing their hands.*"

Such a course would surely hurry us into a state of anarchy, confusion, and despair, such as England has never seen since the passing of the Settlement Act of Charles II., a state which Mr. Coode's remedy of an extended police force and a code of severe vagrancy laws would only aggravate, from which it is probable we should never again raise our heads—" *Facilis descensus Avern!*" It may be easy enough to persuade persons of property to entrench on that share of the national wealth which has been allotted to the poor as well by natural justice as by the laws of England; but it would be almost impossible to restore it again. It is difficult for any free nation to give itself an adequate poor law, because it implies a surrender to the poor, on the part of every holder of property, of an indefinite share of whatever he possesses. It was the absolute power of Elizabeth that introduced the system here. England, after a long experience of its blessings, has given a poor law to Ireland; but Ireland, left to herself, could never have adopted it. The owners of property in France are all against a poor law, yet a full and liberal one is the only thing that can check communism, and give security to that property.

CHAPTER XI.

COODE'S ARGUMENTS AGAINST SETTLEMENT.

1st Argument, (p. 84). Men with large families have a preference in the distribution of parish labour.—My answer to Mr. Coode's first argument against parochial settlement is the following:—In most rural parishes (which Mr. Coode reckons at 12,000 out of 15,000), when from the low prices of agricultural produce, the severity of the weather, or any other cause, sufficient employment cannot be found to keep all the labouring population at full work, a preference in the distribution of the work is given to those who, without it, would probably fall on the rates. Thus it happens that many inferior labourers, whether from age, or physical infirmity, or such as have a more than ordinary number of mouths dependent on them for support, are continued in their situations, while the younger, more active, and unmarried men, who are far better able to provide for themselves, are the first to be sent to seek other employment.

The following is the operation of this system in the district with which I am best acquainted, the North of Devon, and the West of Somerset; doubtless it is a fair sample of its working throughout the land. In times of distress the failing labourers, and those with large families, are usually employed in their parishes. At such times it is a constant practice for many of the young, unmarried men, to cross the Bristol Channel to South Wales, where they seldom fail to find abundance of employment in the mining districts. A system more beneficial to the general interest of the working classes could not be devised, and yet Mr. Coode designates it as "*a cruel, disheartening, and demoralizing abuse.*"

The advantages we are told to expect, if settlement and parochial chargeability were abolished, are as follows; It would then be the interest of every farmer to employ only the most able-bodied workmen, and thus to shorten, if possible, the number of hands in their employment. The young, active, unmarried men, those who now emigrate to Wales or elsewhere, in cases of scanty employment, would then be most sure of procuring employment at home, and, according to Mr. Coode and the other gentlemen I have cited, this is most desirable. It follows, of course, and it is allowed by all the above authorities, that old or partially infirm labourers, and those with more children than usual, must under these circumstances become paupers and throw themselves on the poor's rates. It would indeed be a hardship to expect these older men to leave, for months together, their homes and families, while they seek for employment at a distance. They

cannot turn their hands to new species of labour, and learn new trades, like younger men,—pauperism and the union-house will be their only resource when you shall have taken from them the protection of their parochial settlement, and to pauperism and the union-house we have seen that our political economists wilfully condemn them. It was for the benefit of the older and feebler portion of our labouring population that our poor and settlement laws were enacted. It is now proposed to repeal them, *because their effect is to supply such persons with work and wages, as long as they are capable of earning them.* They were not framed to assist those young and active labourers who have but themselves to feed, and who can, without hardship, provide for themselves elsewhere; and yet these are the only men for whom our political economists have any bowels of compassion. Even these would receive no permanent benefit, for the abolition of settlement would be a heavy blow to the whole class to which they belong. The employment they would receive at home would not, in all probability, be better paid for than the work they now get in distant parishes, and an accident, an illness, or at best a score of years, will surely place them on the list of those who have for 200 years owed their security of wages and employment to their parochial settlement. They are then, according to the economy of these gentlemen, to make way for younger and more able men, and to seek a subsistence from the poor's rates; but not the poor's rates as at present administered, when each guardian's voice is heard in behalf of the poor in his own parish. One harsh unvarying test is to be applied by a union board or paid official to all applicants for relief; the workhouse system is, if possible, to be applied with as much severity as in Ireland. It is too bitter a mockery when we are told that all this is to be for the welfare of the poor, unless by those who believe with Mr. Senior, that "harshness and severity in the administration of relief are by far the best things for the welfare of the labouring classes."

*2nd Argument, (p. 85).—*Mr. Coode's second argument against settlement is, that "it has multiplied marriages and population."

The answer to this is, that marriages have been contracted more universally, earlier, and more improvidently in Ireland without settlement or poor law, than in England with both.

3rd Argument, (p. 85).—"It has created vice and misery."

Mr. Senior shows, as has been seen, that the English population is better fed and longer lived than that of any of the continental nations mentioned in his report. If they were more miserable they would not live so long. The last charge was, "that settlement promoted marriage;" now it "produces vice." Does Mr. Coode think them identical?

4th Argument.—"Though all towns and manufacturing districts get the hands they want, they do not get the best hands."

This is another contradiction. The first argument was, "that the best hands were thrown out of work and driven from their rural parishes by settlement;" now we hear that settlement prevents the towns from getting these best hands: this is too absurd.

The fact that all manufacturing places do get all the hands they want is allowed by the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry in their Report; it is allowed by Mr. Coode; and it is allowed by Mr. Chadwick; and it is stated by Sir Frederic Eden to have been the case even before Pitt's Act of 1796, which made persons irremovable until chargeable.

All pretence that settlement interferes with the free circulation of labour falls to the ground, before this universally admitted and undisputed fact.

5th Argument.—"It is a cruel and unjust law."

It is allowed to be a law which provides competent wages for a vast class of old and partially infirm persons, who would otherwise be paupers. The cruelty and injustice of this law then can be only argued on Mr. Senior's ground; *i. e.* if "harshness and severity in the administration of relief" be kindness, then food, wages, and employment, may be cruelty.

I believe that the unhappy creatures, who would be pauperized by the repeal of settlement, and driven to despair by the workhouse test, would, indeed, experience cruelty and injustice in the usual sense of those words.

6th Argument.—"The law of settlement is a law of unsettlement."

To that small and annually decreasing class who happen to be removed, *against their wishes*, from the place of their abode to the place of their settlement, it is, indeed, so.

To the mass, it is a law of home, of right, of comfort, and of settlement; to the poor man travelling in search of work it affords protection (as Mr. Coode allows) against the cruel vagrancy laws, and the repressive police, that are in store for him if it be abolished.

7th Argument, (p. 45).—"It is for the interest of the lawyers."

The extracts given from the report of the Poor Law Commissioners, show that the law expenses are rapidly and materially decreasing.

8th Argument.—"A charge of the congestion of labourers in certain agricultural counties may be added to the list."

At the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one, Sussex was by far the most pauperized county in England.

It is most probable that a redundant population thrown out of work by the cessation of manufactures, and not fully absorbed by agriculture, was the chief cause of that unenviable distinction.

Andrew Yarranton gives Sussex as one of the manufacturing

counties of England in 1677, producing iron, cloth, and materials for shipping.

An account of the Sussex iron trade is to be found in the Transactions of the Sussex Archeological Society for 1849. It appears to have been superseded by the cheaper iron of the coal districts, during the latter half of the last century, and to have become extinct about 1700.

Two of the highest rated counties in England at the present time (*see* Appendix) are Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, and they are certainly those in which the wages of the labourers are lowest; I believe that this has been mainly caused by the decay of the woollen districts in the North of Wilts, and the falling off of the trade in thread and wire shirt buttons, that have been manufactured for centuries by the women throughout Dorsetshire.

It is certain, however, that the congestion of hands in these districts is fast clearing off.

See Result 7, Part I., p. 59.

Sir Frederic Eden, vol. i. p. 181, speaking of the opinion of Adam Smith and Lord Kames on the law of settlement, as it existed before the Act of 1706, says:—

“Neither of these writers seems to be warranted by fact, in their supposition, that the price of labour, in their own country, (Scotland,) is far more equal than it is in England; and that the inequality here is principally occasioned by the obstruction which the law of settlement gives to the poor man, who would carry his industry from one parish to another without a certificate.” Lord Kames says, “In Scotland the price of labour resembles water, which always levels itself; if high in any one corner, an influx of hands brings it down.” But (to use an observation of Mr. Howlett’s), “I am persuaded that, had his lordship lived to peruse the statistical account of Scotland, he would have much altered his sentiments; he would then have discovered, that the price of labour is as various in the northern part of Great Britain as in the southern; and the slightest view of Leeds, Liverpool, and innumerable other places would have convinced him, that the circulation of labour is as free, and the scarcity of hands in one place as amply supplied by their super-abundance in another, on the south side of the Tweed as on the north.”

CHAPTER XII.

VAGRANCY.

There is nothing in Mr. Coode's report more unfair than the manner in which he throughout endeavours to confound the beneficial operation of the law of settlement with the cruel operation of the vagrancy laws; under which whipping, branding, cutting, enalaving, and even hanging, had been carried on for centuries before a poor law was even thought of.

Vagrancy laws of great severity are still on the English statute book, although through the beneficial operation of the settlement laws they have for many years been almost wholly disused. Mr. Coode, with all his affected solicitude for the poor, is fully alive to this fact, and a part of his plan is again to hand over the class of vagrants and poor wayfarers (for it is impossible to distinguish between one and the other) to the action of a repressive police, armed with the resuscitated power of the vagrancy laws. Hear what Mr. Coode says on this subject (p. 50):—" *It seems probable that the law of settlement is still the cause why the law of vagrancy is not carried into operation*, and that if the fallacious security of the power of removal were taken away, public opinion would require that *the police should be everywhere made efficient*, and that they should discharge their duty as regards vagrants, either under the present vagrancy law or some judicious modification of it. *Whatever would conduce to the repression of mendicancy and vagrancy would, however severe in appearance, be in fact the most merciful of all influences*, if, as is generally recognised and admitted, the state of vagrancy is the first stage, and commonly the concurrent and necessary condition, of the criminal's life."

Again at the end of his work he recommends as a measure that should accompany the repeal of settlement (p. 186):—

"Let vagrancy, in all its forms, and whether Irish or English, be dealt with by a *sound and firm execution of the vagrancy laws*, which the abolition of the laws of removal will promote."

Again he says (p. 188):—

"It has at all times been known that existing vagrancy is the proper object of the action of a repressive police, while the incentives to vagrancy are to be removed by an efficient system of relief, employment and education."

The object for which Mr. Coode professes to contend is that

every man should be free to travel about the country in search of work. He allows that the present law of settlement does not interfere with any man not actually chargeable, and that it is the cause of the vagrant laws being mercifully suspended; *ergo*, he allows that every man is *now* free to travel in search of work, protected by settlement from the cruel vagrancy laws.

He cannot increase that freedom of locomotion which he allows that the working classes have possessed since Pitt's Act of 1795; but as a necessary consequence of the repeal of the law of settlement, he proposes to expose every poor man in his migrations in search of work to the tender mercies of a "*repressive police, which should be everywhere made efficient*," and which police he would, I presume, place at the disposal of the authorities of the poor law.

If the reproduced severity of the vagrancy laws were added to the more severe administration of relief in workhouses, which all the authorities allow would be indispensable after the repeal of the law of settlement, we should indeed have introduced a state of things in which, to use Mr. Coode's words, "*few poor men would have courage to venture from their homes into the inhospitable territory of the rest of their country*."

The very acknowledgment, that a more efficient police force would be rendered necessary by the change he proposes, proves it to be a backward step in the march of civilisation.

It will be adding insult to injury if a proposal for a national police accompanies or follows the measure for the abolition of settlement. It would only prove that the promoters of that measure are well aware of the cruelty that it must occasion to the labouring poor.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISTRICT OR UNION CHARGEABILITY.

All the arguments that can be used in favour of this scheme are purely theoretical, as no example can be found in which any system of poor law has been successful in which the principle of widely extended areas of chargeability has been recognised; while our own islands supply repeated instances of its trial and signal failure. I shall consider this subject under the following heads:—

- 1st. Whether any great extension of the area of rating is in accordance with those natural principles on which a poor law should be founded.
- 2nd. Its trial, failure, and abandonment.
 In the reign of Elizabeth.
 In the reign of Charles II.
 In the reign of Victoria.
- 3rd. Mr. Coode's arguments in favour of union rating.
- 4th. Its certain tendency to produce a centralized administration of local affairs.
- 5th. The enormous confiscation of real property that would be occasioned by it.

1ST. WHETHER ANY GREAT EXTENSION OF THE AREA OF RATING IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATURAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH A POOR LAW SHOULD BE FOUNDED?

The laws of God, as well as our natural instincts, teach us to pity and relieve the necessities of those among our neighbours who from misfortune or improvidence are unable to support themselves. The natural law, by which such charity is regulated in all communities, is that those who are borne down by want and misery look up to their richer neighbours to whom they and their circumstances are known, and with whom they and their families are probably connected by many local ties, for sympathy and support.

Our poor laws were enacted as a means of overcoming the parsimony of such individuals as refused to contribute their quota towards satisfying the just claims of their poorer neighbours to "a subsistence, or the means of obtaining it." Several statutes with less stringent provisions had been previously tried, but had failed in producing the desired effect.

Within our limited parochial boundaries relief is given and received by those who, in a normal state of mankind, have a natural connection and a natural claim on and from each other.

Such relief, although compulsory, partakes much, both in the manner of its distribution as well as in the nature of the feelings

that actuate the giving and receiving classes, of the nature of simple charity.

None of those communistic feelings, which disturb continental nations, are excited in the breasts of those poor men who ask and receive aid of those neighbours from whose affluence their natural instincts lead them to expect it.

On the other hand, every feeling of natural charity should be called forth in those who have to dispense the parochial aid to persons with whose circumstances they are well acquainted, and the reality of whose distress they are readily enabled to test. Such natural guardians will be usually far more inclined to leniency towards such poor persons (even although a large proportion of the relief afforded should come out of their own pockets), than strangers would be.

It has been a common cry among the opponents of all poor laws, that our English system is nothing but an organised communism. This is only true in so far as it satisfies in a reasonable way those reasonable wants of the working classes, the neglect or refusal of which has been the main root of continental communism. Like every deep feeling which stirs the minds of masses of mankind, socialism and communism are only dangerous when they spring from some real practical grievance.

We have seen that our poor laws, properly administered, give to our true poor as much as the ultimate success of a socialist revolution could secure to the poor of France.

Our local system has little affinity with the communism of the continent. It has been in force for 200 years without the slightest danger to religion, to monarchy, to property, or to society; nay, it has powerfully tended to strengthen, benefit, and support all these institutions. *So far from its acting as an encouragement to socialism or communism, it is an active and potent medicine for the prevention or cure of those political diseases.*

But should the areas of chargeability be enlarged, so as to break through these natural relations, and to exclude all personal knowledge and sympathy between the payers and the recipients of the poor's rates—should an increased harshness be engendered on the one hand, and on the other the principle of a general claim on the general property be established,—a total change will ensue in the position of both classes.

A poor law so constituted would indeed wear some of the worst features of continental communism.

2ND. ITS TRIAL, FAILURE, AND ABANDONMENT.

1st. In the reign of Elizabeth.

It appears from the Report of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry, published in 1834 (p. 10), that the system of compulsory taxation for the relief of the poor was first established by

the 14th Eliz. c. 5 (1572). The contributions, chiefly Voluntary that had been previously divided among the poor, had been collected and distributed by the clergy of the respective parishes.

"The 14th of Elizabeth, c. 5," say the Commissioners, "appears to have deviated from this" (parochial) "plan; and as it vested the power of assessment in the justices, it throws the burden, not on each parish, but upon all the inhabitants of the divisions within the jurisdiction of the assessing justices."

Here was a fair trial of the principle of district chargeability. Doubtless all the arguments that can now be urged in its favour were used in the Cabinet before this principle was adopted by those distinguished men who composed the ministry of Elizabeth.

These statesmen did not shrink from acknowledging themselves in error when their measures failed after a fair trial. In the year 1598 they abandoned the system of district rating after a trial of six and twenty years. The Commissioners' Report continues:—

"The 39th Elizabeth, c. 3, returned to the parochial system; and it differs so little in its provisions from the well-known 43 Elizabeth, c. 2, the basis, but certainly not the origin, of our present system, that we do not think it necessary to state its substance."

The first six Acts of the 39th of Elizabeth (1599), are a series of Acts on the subject of the poor. Several of them were brought forward under the immediate charge of Sir Francis Bacon, who sat on all the committees, and appears to have taken a prominent share in all the poor-law legislation of the latter part of that reign. They may be considered (see the above Report, p. 12, also Pashley,) as one continued Act under six different heads.

As this legislation had become necessary on account of the failure of the system of district chargeability which had been in force for the last twenty-six years, I have looked carefully through the Acts to find in what the precise nature of that failure consisted.

The preamble to Chapter I., may be considered as the preamble of the whole. It recites that "*where in late years, more than in times past, there have sundry town parishes and houses of husbandry been destroyed and become desolate, by means whereof a great number of poor people are become wanderers, idle and loose, which is the cause of infinite inconveniences.*"

It was to prevent these clearances and the consequent destitution which, under district rating, were thus rapidly increasing, that legislation was called for. The Acts contain many provisions for ensuring, as far as possible, house accommodation and employment for the poor in their own parishes.

The great principle introduced in these measures was the abolition of district relief, and the reduction of the area of chargeability to the parochial boundaries; thereby making it the interest of land-

lords and occupiers to give employment to the people, as they must otherwise maintain them in idleness. To the operation of this principle many thousand families have since been indebted for their daily bread, especially through the dark winter months and in times of depression. I believe that the hardworking and laborious character of our labouring population has been in a great part acquired, during the last 200 years, by the obligation to afford employment, entailed on the wealthier classes by this law; which was not, however, fairly carried out until the Settlement Act of the 13th & 14th of Charles II. was passed.

Another principle established by these Acts was that of a rate in aid, from a hundred in favour of an over-burdened parish, and from a county in favour of an over-burdened hundred. The absence of any fixed amount at which such rate in aid may be called for (the responsibility of applying it having been left entirely with the magistrates), is doubtless the reason why this excellent law has been very little resorted to, even where parishes have been borne down by temporary distress, as has happened in cases of decaying manufactures, and at times perhaps from other causes.

Further Abolition of District Rating in the reign of Charles II., 1662.

The salutary provisions of the 39th and 43rd of Elizabeth had in most cases reduced the area of taxation to limits which allowed mutual knowledge and local sympathy to influence both the contributors to, and the receivers of, the poor's rates. By so doing it had placed the difficult problem of the relief of the poor on a more natural and satisfactory basis than before.

The state of the law was, however, still imperfect. Mr. Coode speaking of the sixty years which immediately followed the 43rd of Elizabeth, says, (p. 26,) "It is impossible to resist the evidence that the poor law, 43rd Elizabeth, which had been universally approved in speculation, had been notoriously neglected in practice. It is the complaint of every statute, ordinance, commission, proclamation, or petition, and of every cotemporaneous writer on the subject, that the parishes were niggardly in their relief to the impotent, and especially that they failed to provide the stock to set the able poor to work, as required by the statute. We must then," says Mr. Coode, "admit the truth of the allegation in the preamble of the statute," (the famous Settlement Act, 13 & 14 Charles II., c. 12), "that the want of a due provision of the regulations of relief and employment in the parishes and places where the poor were legally settled, did enforce many to turn incorrigible rogues, and others to *perish of want*, and that a remedy was wanting for the preventing the perishing of any of

"*the poor*, whether old or young, for want of such supplies as are necessary."

In the year 1662 this Act (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12) was passed to provide a remedy for these evils. It appears to have been a judicious and successful measure, and to have carried out the great principles introduced in 1597. The reasons for this "perishing of the poor," and the remedies for it, are thus clearly pointed out in the Act:—"Whereas the inhabitants of the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and many other counties in England and Wales, by reason of the largeness of the parishes within the same, have not, nor cannot reap the benefits of the Act of parliament made in the 43rd year of the late Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor:

"Therefore be it enacted, that all and every the poor, needy, impotent, and lame person and persons within any township and village within the several counties aforesaid, shall from and after the passing of this Act, be maintained, kept, provided for and set at work, within the several and respective townships and villages wherein he, she, or they shall inhabit, or wherein he, she, or they was or were last lawfully settled, according to the intent and meaning of this Act." Other clauses follow for giving to these townships a distinct machinery for the relief of their poor, as if they had been each of them separate parishes. The operation of this Act was to divide into townships most of the large parishes throughout the country, and eventually to increase the number of separate places maintaining their own poor in England and Wales from about 10,000 to about 15,000.

The next evil to be corrected was, "That whereas by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and when they have consumed it then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stocks when it is liable to be devoured by strangers."

The evil here complained of is clearly, that the distressed poor of those parishes, which, "*by reason of their largeness*," had been unable to reap the benefit of the 43rd of Elizabeth, were in the habit of quartering themselves upon those smaller parishes in which rates were levied and stocks provided. The large parishes drove forth their poor by ill-usage and neglect, either to starve or to become a burden to their neighbours. And in consequence of this, many of the smaller parishes refused to put the poor law in operation.

To remedy this great evil (after having by a judicious reduction of the areas of chargeability provided for the support of these poor people at home), the Act proceeds:—"It shall and may be lawful, upon complaint being made by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of any parish, to any justice of the peace, within forty days after such person or persons coming so to settle as aforesaid, in any tenement under the yearly value of £10, for any two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum of the division, where any person or persons that are likely to become chargeable to the parish shall come to inhabit, by their warrant to remove and convey such person or persons to such parish, where he or they were last legally settled, either as a native, householder, sojourner, apprentice or servant, for the space of forty days at the least, unless he or they give sufficient security for the discharge of the said parish, to be allowed by the said justices."

The term of residence which this law intended to confer a settlement was so short, that it was thought to necessitate the injustice of exposing strangers to be removed, even if not chargeable, at the will of the parish officers. This power was abolished by Pitt in 1795, after the acquisition of a settlement had become a matter of difficulty. The abolition has been attended with the best results.

This Act of the 13 & 14 of Car. II. was eminently successful in at length bringing the 43rd of Elizabeth into practical operation throughout England.

"The poor's rates," says Mr. Coode (p. 43.), "which, from the first compulsory provision for the relief of the poor to the year 1661, had not reached the annual amount of £100,000, was quadrupled in six and thirty years," (between the passing of the settlement law, the 18th & 14th of Car. II., and the landing of William III. in 1688). Mr. Coode does not represent the fact fairly, when he says (p. 46.) "It is manifest that the law of settlement is no cure of the evil," (increase of pauperism,) "inasmuch as the greatest rate of increase" (of poor's rates) "yet experienced took place within the thirty years immediately following its introduction." It was the money paid for the relief of pauperism, and not the pauperism itself which increased. After the passing of the Settlement Act of the 13th & 14th Car. II., the complaints that "the poor perished for want of necessary supplies" immediately ceased. And Mr. Coode tells us (p. 43), that "those abuses of the law of which we have had a recent and almost fatal experience, such as the payment of the able-bodied in aid of wages, came to immediate maturity."

The abuses then of starvation and neglect ceased with the division of the large parishes and the settlement law. Such complaints as Mr. Coode describes would naturally begin as soon as an effectual poor law was established.

Trial, Failure, and Abandonment of District Rating in the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

The latest legislation on poor-law subjects has been in Ireland, and it is to Ireland that we must look for practical hints with regard to any alteration that may be proposed in this country.

The party of the old Poor Law Commissioners had their full fling in Ireland. They had a clear new field on which to try their theories—they established there a poor law after their own hearts, and it proved to be one which would not work. Parliament has since been obliged to correct every one of its fundamental principles.

It has been obliged,—

- 1st. To reduce the size of the unions.
- 2nd. To reduce the size of the areas of chargeability, (electoral divisions).
- 3rd. To facilitate the localization of the poor, (by a sort of imperfect settlement, which does not extend beyond the union).*
- 4th. To extend the right to relief.

Every principle which so signally failed in Ireland, it is now proposed to reproduce in England.

It is wished,—†

- 1st. To increase the size of the unions.
- 2nd. To increase the size of the areas of chargeability.
- 3rd. To destroy the localization or settlement of the poor.
- 4th. To contract the right to relief.

The attempt to contract the right of relief, by confining it to the workhouse, is the only one of these principles that has been tried in England, (see Sir G. Nicholls, p. 47), and its failure will be seen by referring to the returns quoted at page 48; at least four-fifths of the relief now granted in England and Wales being out-door relief.

As long as the humanity of England, working through her magistracy and parochial officers, can interfere, there is no chance of enforcing this system. But if our parochial self-government be once broken up, and our local affairs subjected to the dictation of a costly array of government commissioners and subordinates, who shall protect the poor from the hardships which a perpetual reign of arbitrary tests will inflict upon them? Let us then at least place things on their right footing, and let not the poor be mocked, by the pretence that these changes are proposed for their benefit.

No wonder that we are told *not to look to Ireland*, as such an inspection must be fatal to all these schemes.

* An Act, passed in 1849, greatly facilitates this localization of the poor in the electoral divisions.

† Evidence before the Settlement Committee of 1847.

If we look to Ireland we shall see similar causes, producing similar effects to those which were produced in our early poor-law legislation. We shall see the founders of the Irish poor law committing precisely the same blunders that were committed by our early poor-law legislators, and we shall see these blunders remedied by the same means; and we shall see the localization of the poor man's claim to relief gradually working the same beneficial effects it has produced in England—(see Mr. Gulson's letter, p. 81). We are called upon to recur to disused and impracticable theories, and we are told *not to look to Ireland*, where we shall see the most recent and convincing example of their hopeless discomfiture.

The same scene that was enacted in England in the reign of Elizabeth has been repeated in Ireland during the last few years.

In 1838, a forced contribution for the relief of the poor was introduced for the first time into that country. The political economists were to have it all their own way in Ireland. We were to have a system of poor laws founded on the newest and soundest principles. Out-door relief was not to be heard of in that happy land. Unions and areas of rating were to be established on a scale far more comprehensive than the poor contracted boundaries of English parishes. It was a great experiment, but it did not last long. As was the case in the reign of Elizabeth, the same ministers who introduced the principle of district rating lived to acknowledge its failure, and to retrace the false steps they had taken.

The result has proved, that even with the aid of a central administration, extended areas of rating are wholly incapable of good.

The Irish poor law of 1838, as it passed through the House of Commons, contained the principle of union rating in its fullest extent.

It underwent, however, a great and important amendment in the House of Lords at the hands of the first man of our age, the Duke of Wellington.

This is exactly similar in principle to the great poor-law reform effected in 1597 (39 Eliz. c. 3), in which the first man of that age, the illustrious Bacon, took so prominent a part. The Duke of Wellington said in the debate in the House of Lords, on the first introduction of the Irish poor law in May, 1838:—"It is our duty
"to take care that those parishes, from which those persons are
"taken who are to be placed in the workhouses, shall be required
"to pay the expenses connected with the relief of those paupers.
"That arrangement is one of the principles of the economy of the
"execution of the poor law in this country. Each parish pays its
"own expenses, and the consequence is, that there is the greatest
"possible economy practised; that there is a control over the ex-
"penses, and that the proprietors of the soil are interested in
"keeping those expenses down to as low a pitch as possible, so that it

"frequently happens—a fact within my own personal knowledge—that they employ a man at sufficient wages, rather than send him to a workhouse to be supported by the parish at a far greater expense. In Ireland, then, I think we ought to take care that, at least, the expense of supporting the relief of its own poor fall on each individual parish."

The Duke passed his amendment and established the principle he contended for. But the Poor Law Commissioners practically defeated it, as the establishment of the Irish poor law was in their hands. They were determined to carry out their favourite theory of district rating, and they formed both the unions and electoral districts for rating (equivalent to our parishes), throughout the greater part of Ireland, on so enormous a scale, that many of the latter far exceeded the average size of the English unions. Examples :—

Unions.				Average size of Electoral Divisions.
				Acres.
Bantry	..	..	..	19,859
Kanturk	..	..	..	18,350
Caherseeven	..	..	..	21,224
Kenmare	..	..	..	31,113
Killarney	..	..	..	19,397
Tralee	..	..	..	22,462
Clifden	..	..	..	47,376
Galway	..	..	..	25,238
Ballina	..	..	..	29,654
Westport	..	..	..	33,018

A large number of electoral divisions averaged from 20,000 to 150,000 acres each.

The Irish poor law was scarcely established when the unwieldy size of the electoral divisions became apparent; and in 1845, several years before the evils became so glaring as to call for the interference of the Government, we find the Irish Poor Law Commissioners compelled to reduce the size of the electoral division in which Limerick is situated from 22,000 acres to 9,023 acres.

Mr. Gulson's Letter.

The following admirable letter from Mr. Gulson, the senior Poor Law Inspector in England, contains the whole pith of the argument. It was read to the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, in a debate on Irish poor law, on March 23rd, 1847. It is dated Drogheda, February 2nd, 1843. He says :—

"There are incalculable advantages at work with reference to the care exercised on electoral divisions, both by guardians, rate-

"payers, and landlords, which would cease when self-interest no longer prompted them to exertion. I see work offered to men by the agent, and by the ratepayers interested in a particular electoral division, solely because the man and his family would otherwise be applicants for admission into the workhouse. It not unfrequently happens at the boards in my district, on a man applying, that the warden says he will find the applicant work in the division at fair wages; and I often see the guardians exerting themselves legitimately to find employment for those who would otherwise be destitute, because, if taken into the workhouse, the persons would be a charge upon the ratepayers of the division. Only last week this occurred in the case of two applicants at Monaghan, for both of whom employment at fair wages was found. If cases of this kind come under my own eye, it is fair to conclude the same goes on in a tenfold degree where I know nothing of it. Throughout my district the large farmers, and the guardians, and the agents are very active in keeping down the expenses of their several divisions; and I constantly, in private, hear them consulting as to the best mode of employing the people rather than let them go (able bodied) into the workhouse. If the electoral divisions were done away with, all this stimulus would cease to operate."

This letter is invaluable, as it is the result of practical experience. The same incalculable advantages here described as being produced in Ireland by small areas of chargeability have been at work in England ever since parochial chargeability was established; the same "exertions legitimately to find employment for those who would otherwise be destitute;" the same "constant consultations as to the best mode of employing the people, rather than let them go (able bodied) into the workhouse." This is the true and only secret of the unparalleled success of the English poor law, in having converted, in the space of two centuries, a people quite as much pauperized, and far more unruly than the Irish, into the most industrious, most orderly, and most contented population in Europe. It has been this concentration of the self-interest of all the wealthier classes on the one point of finding profitable employment for the poor that has spread comparative content and plenty among our people, while it has beautified our country and fertilized our soil. I may add almost in the words of Mr. Gulson—"If the parochial divisions were done away with all this stimulus would cease to operate." Mr. Gulson, who thus so admirably endorses the almost prophetic speech of the Duke of Wellington, quoted above, had been employed in forming the unions and electoral divisions in the north-west of Ireland. His practice had been in accordance with the clear and sound views laid down in this letter, and it had been most successful. He had not formed the unions

or electoral divisions in his district of such an unmanageable size as had been the case in a great part of the rest of Ireland. When the Boundary Commissioners inspected the condition of that country in 1848-9, they reported, as will be seen, that these smaller unions were in a far superior condition to the rest of the country, and assigned, as a chief cause, the *smaller size of the electoral divisions*.

Alas! for the inconsistency of human nature—this same Mr. Gulson is now a leading member of the Chadwickian party for the abolition of parochial chargeability, and for depriving the English poor of the "*incalculable advantages*" he worked so hard to procure for the Irish, and which he so admirably describes in the above letter. What a satire is this letter of Mr. Gulson's on the stuff we hear continually talked about opening the labour market for the benefit of the poor. The labour market had been open enough in Ireland to satisfy the keenest political economist; but the people had been unemployed and starving, and the rate of wages little more than nominal. The Irish will work hard enough when they come here; but at home, before the introduction of limited areas of chargeability, there was nobody to employ them. The moment the labour market is thus restricted, employment is found for them; the moment Mr. Gulson introduces limited areas of chargeability into Ireland he tells us that—"incalculable advantages" arise to all parties; the people are employed and the country is improved. He then tells us that, "if the electoral divisions were 'done away with,' (by the establishment of union rating,) 'all this stimulus would cease to operate.'"

But to return to our Irish poor law.

Report of Boundary Commissioners.

Hard times reached Ireland, and the severe pressure on the rates began. Out-door relief or starvation were the stern alternatives. The impracticable size of the unions and electoral divisions became then so apparent, that a commission, called the "Boundary Commission," was appointed by Sir G. Grey to inquire into and report upon the whole subject. In the instructions issued by him to the Commissioners, we find the following passages, March 27th, 1848: "As regards unions, recent experience has proved that 'many of them are inconveniently large, and a reduction of their size and consequent formation of new unions may in some cases be assumed to be desirable. With regard to electoral divisions you will inquire and report as to each of such divisions,—Whether the extent and other circumstances are such as to enable the inhabitants to feel a community of interest, and to co-operate with—but difficulty for their general welfare.'" "The case of large

"towns requires special consideration. The elements connected with their social organization differ materially from those of rural districts; and while on the one hand it may be desirable to keep them separate, on the other this might throw an undue burden on the towns. *You will inquire and report what electoral divisions ought to be reduced in extent, and what new electoral divisions it may be desirable to form.*" The Commissioners, in their First Report, state that the unions in the north and east of Ireland were much smaller than those which had been formed in the south and west. "As soon as it became necessary for the guardians to control the administration of out-door relief," "the *better state of the northern and eastern (smaller) unions became apparent.*" "For this, however, there were other causes than the small unions. *The electoral divisions were also smaller and more nearly coterminous with property.* The country was in a far better condition."

The Commissioners then proposed that the present unions should be reduced, and that fifty new unions should be formed of the districts taken away from them.

In regard to Electoral Districts :—

After urging that the working of a poor law is manifestly one of the most involved problems which society can present, the Commissioners add, "to avoid imposition, by affording local examination and control, as well as *to approximate to the natural condition of family support*, some division of the country into contributory districts has been thought necessary. In England the *parochial division*, hallowed by long associations, has continued to this day the area of rating (several parishes, however, being under the amended law generally combined into one larger district or union, for the benefit of central control and economy of administration)."

While the Commissioners feel the necessity of reducing the size of the unions, they say, "We have never for a moment lost sight of the still greater importance of such an arrangement of the area of rating, as may enable the proprietors of land to bear the new burthen thrown upon it, with as little deterioration as possible to their peculiar property, not only as a fair protection to themselves, but because it must be obvious that injury to the property of any one class, must derange the property of every other."

Speaking of the widely extended districts for rating, the Commissioners say, "*The expenditure would be divested of the necessary supervision and control, precisely in proportion as the district was larger, and therefore be proportionally more and more unjust to the payer of the tax.*"

"There are 66,700 townlands in Ireland, comprised at present

“ in 2,049 electoral divisions, more than half of which it will probably be necessary to examine and subdivide.” They add to this report, maps of the then state of the Ballina Union, amounting to 504,115 acres (or about 800 square miles), then divided into sixteen electoral divisions. This tract the Commissioners propose to divide into four separate unions, containing forty-seven electoral divisions; “ the reduction of extent, both in unions and electoral divisions; “ bringing the former, as nearly as now practicable, to a size which “ should leave no part of the country more than seven miles from “ a workhouse, and *reducing the latter to an area which should “ allow the exertions of all parties to be beneficially applied and “ felt*; while, instead of bounding them by arbitrary lines, we “ endeavoured to compose them of single properties, or groups of “ properties, in order that the stimulus of individual interest might “ not be extinguished, but exerted for the improvement of the “ country and the condition of the people.”

In the 8th Report, dated 1st February, 1850, we find the following:—

“ On the 24th ultimo, we were informed by the Poor Law Commissioners, that it was probable *the changes recommended in the “ electoral divisions would be carried into effect immediately*, but “ those recommended in the unions deferred for the present.”

Nothing can be more important than this practical acknowledgment by the Poor Law Commissioners, that the reduction of the areas of rating was of more vital and immediate importance than the reduction of the unions. Observe the following extracts:—

“ In support of our general view of reducing the town areas, we “ may state, that we find the principal towns in the north of “ Ireland, as Londonderry, Belfast, and others, with very small “ areas; in the case of Londonderry, only 767 acres; while the “ rates on those towns have been moderate. *In fact the very magnitude of the rateable district has been represented to us, and with “ great apparent reason, as one of the causes which has led to “ the present pressure on the rates*, from the laxity which has been “ introduced by it, and not only as having caused it, but as likely “ to be ruinous in the end to the towns themselves, by maintaining “ within them, at the charge of the rates, a population so much “ greater than their industrial wants can require.

“ On the other hand it is stated, that the towns have but little “ control over the increasing number chargeable upon them, from “ the facility with which settlements are obtained by paupers evicted “ from the country and received into the small holdings and tenements of persons who make a profit by the lodgings they let. “ It cannot be denied that the influx of these persons is a hardship upon the more wealthy householders, but it would be a “ yet greater hardship upon the farmers residing at a considerable

“ distance from the town, if they were to be taxed for their support,
 “ as there can be no doubt *that however poor those persons may be,*
 “ *their admittance, in the first instance, arises rather from the*
 “ *immediate profit derived from them, than from motives of bene-*
 “ *volence.*

“ The areas, accordingly, attached to towns, will generally be
 “ found to be limited to lands within a circuit of one or two miles,
 “ and, so far as has been practicable, coterminous with the bound-
 “ aries of properties.

“ We found, as a general rule, that *the largest town divisions*
 “ *were usually those in which the greatest pressure existed.* We were
 “ far from assuming that the converse of this state of things
 “ would of necessity exist, *i. e.* that the pressure would im-
 “ mediately, or in all cases diminish with the area, but we had
 “ little doubt that injustice was done to the more distant rural
 “ portions of those electoral divisions, by the support being
 “ thrown upon them of the persons who swelled the popu-
 “ lation of the towns. From this we endeavoured to liberate
 “ them, by confining the electoral division to the space benefited
 “ by its proximity to the town, and we departed from the parish
 “ boundaries, when by doing so we could make the town more
 “ central. We were also anxious in these, as well as the rural
 “ divisions, that the boundaries should be the boundaries of pro-
 “ perty, as far as possible.

“ We confidently hope that these arrangements will be found
 “ satisfactory, and *that the diminution of the area included in the*
 “ *town divisions will offer a considerable obstacle to the too rapid*
 “ *progress of eviction,* which has been stated to prevail in some
 “ parts of the country, by inducing the owners of tenements in the
 “ towns to be more particular in the admission into them of parties
 “ likely at a future period to become chargeable on the rates. If
 “ the poor, when dispossessed of their holdings, at once retired upon
 “ the workhouse, they would be charged to the electoral division
 “ from which they came; and it would be the interest of the rate-
 “ payers of that electoral division either to assist in their emigra-
 “ tion, or provide them with labour mutually profitable. At
 “ present they congregate in the towns, and remain there for a
 “ sufficient time to become chargeable to them, when they ulti-
 “ mately, as is almost invariably the case, fall back upon the work-
 “ house.”

Nothing can be more instructive than this third and recent
 example of the failure of district rating. A fourth example will
 be given at page 99, where the Norwich Union is treated of.

CHAPTER XIV.

3RD. A CONSIDERATION OF MR. COODE'S ARGUMENTS IN
FAVOUR OF UNION RATING.

The summing up of the whole of the arguments in favour of the abolition of settlement and the parochial system seems to have been intrusted to Mr. Coode. This gentleman is a barrister, and was for several years Assistant-Secretary to the Poor Law Commission; so that a more competent person to draw up a brief on this subject, or one more thoroughly versed in every possible argument that can be used on either side of the question, could not have been chosen. Mr. Coode's arguments in favour of the abolition of settlement I have considered in another place. I have now only to deal with those he makes use of in favour of union rating.

The whole case of the union raters, both before the Committee of 1847 and in the reports, had been based on the supposition, unsupported, as we have seen, by facts, that a system of clearances and depopulation was rife throughout this country. Mr. Coode's report was not published until February, 1851. The evidence taken before the Committee had been before him since 1847, and the first set of the reports for at least two years. There can be no doubt of his having subjected them to that searching scrutiny that he seems to have applied to everything that could have the remotest bearing on the subject he had taken in hand. It may then be safely assumed that it was not without careful examination, and full and sufficient reason, that he abandoned, as exaggerated and untenable, the great close parish case, about which so much had been said and written. In so doing, Mr. Coode threw aside, as untenable, the only apparently valid argument that had hitherto been brought forward in favour of abolishing the parochial system in England.

In page 156 of his report, he says:—

"In one respect the mischievous operation of the settlement laws has been exaggerated, namely, as increasing the depopulation of parishes, or, in the modern phrase, the 'formation of close parishes.'

"It is impossible to resist the evidence that, before the settlement law of the 14 Car. II. was enacted, the process of depopulation had been in operation more openly, more vigorously, more extensively, than ever since, and with the direct concurrence of the law, which made the maintenance of old cottages and the erection of new ones a burden, a difficulty, and often an impossibility." "The great operation in the way of the conversion of land in tillage into pasture about a century earlier is well

"known." "A closer examination would probably show that the present operation is commonly exaggerated."

Before entering on the arguments in favour of union rating, which Mr. Coode adduces in his report, I shall give an extract from his evidence before the Lords' Committee on the burdens on land.

He here gives it as his distinct opinion *that no alteration in the parochial areas of rating and chargeability is necessary*, in order to carry out the plan which he is advocating of the abolition of settlement and removal, his words are these :—

(A. 5728.) "It would be quite possible, with the abolition of the law of settlement, to keep the burden of relieving all the poor found in a district as much localized as it is now. If it should be considered indispensable that the parish is to remain the elementary district for the purposes of the poor laws—which I do not, however, think a good plan—the parish might still make the rates as now, and relief might be administered to all destitute persons within the parish by the boards of guardians, as it is now."

Having thus ignored the close parish case, and acknowledged that no necessity exists for abolishing parochial chargeability, even if the other changes he proposes are carried out; and having allowed (page 134 of his report) that a union rating "would be reasonably objected to in all cases where great change would be effected by it in the respective burdens of the parishes," Mr. Coode enters upon his advocacy of union rating under considerable difficulties.

He attempts, however, to argue the union rating scheme on its own merits, and from his intimate acquaintance with all its advocates among the poor-law officials, we may safely conclude that he has omitted no single point that could improve his case. If he fails then in finding arguments to support the scheme, that failure may be considered signal and decisive. I shall examine them, then, singly and in detail.

1st. *His first argument* (page 134) is an odd one. He says it is "the simplest plan," and he seems to lay great stress on this simplicity.

When a man stands starving and destitute in the streets of London, the simplest plan by which he can obtain a loaf of bread is to seize one at the first baker's shop he sees, and carry it off with him.

His simplicity would meet with little sympathy from the magistrate, and I think no one would propose an Act of Parliament for the sake of "realizing this most simple of arrangements."

Mr. Coode appears to have forgotten to explain in what respect a system of union rating would be simpler than the parochial rating now in force.

Argument the 2nd.—Mr. Coode's next argument (page 141) is as follows:—"In the union common fund, especially of a union for rating, we have the strictest application known to our law of the soundest, and safest, and most approved principle of representation going with taxation. Every ratepayer has his voice in the election of the guardian, who is to tax him and spend the tax, and every ratepayer, too, has votes adjusted by cumulation to his share of taxation in the parish."

If Mr. Coode had been arguing in favour of the present system of parochial rating, he could not have used a stronger or more effective argument. He continues:—

"The union raises the fund, the union expends it, and every individual who contributes to it has his share in the control proportionate to his contribution." If we substitute the word *parish* for *union* we again have an admirable argument for the continuance of the present system. Or if we say the *county* raises the fund, the *county* expends it, &c. &c., we are equally well provided with an argument in favour of an extension of the poor's-rate assessment to the area of the county.

3rd Argument, (p. 142):—"By converting a union of parishes into a union for rating, the separation of the interests of the several parishes is put an end to, and the union becomes to all intents and purposes a single parish." Complete your argument, Mr. Coode, and tell us if the heavier burdened of those "single parishes" will tolerate the "unequal pressure of the poor's rate?" Will the cry for equalization be hushed, because in lieu of single parishes, you have combined and powerful bodies demanding an equalization? When the rights of private property no longer interfere with the projects of the equalizer, what shall avert a central administration of local affairs, or protect us from the overgrown bureaucracy that it would render necessary?

4th Argument (p. 143):—"Now the Commissioners of the Poor Law Inquiry," says Mr. Coode, "completely set at rest all question as to the superiority of management, and of the consequent economy in expense, and of success in the prevention of pauperism in the largest parishes over all others. As to the expense of the poor, they show from an examination of the returns of 1831, for all England, that,

"The 100 *absolutely largest* parishes, containing a population of 3,196,064, give 6s. 7d. per head.

"The 100 intermediate parishes, containing a population of 19,841, give 15s. per head.

"The 100 *least* parishes, from which poor-rate returns are made, with a population of 1,708, give 1l. 11s. 11½d. per head.

"Having no more recent returns of the proportions of pauperism,

“they” (the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry) “refer to those of 1803 and 1813, and they show that,

	In 1803.	In 1813.
The average number of Persons relieved was, in the 100 Largest Parishes ..	1 in 16, or 6½ per cent.	1 in 13, or 7½ per cent.
100 Intermediate ditto. . .	1 in 10, or 10 „ „	1 in 8, or 12½ „ „
100 Smallest ditto	1 in 6, or 16½ „ „	1 in 4, or 25 „ „

	In 100 Largest Parishes.	In 100 Intermediate Parishes.	In 100 Smallest Parishes.
The Increase of Pauperism on Population from 1803 to 1813, was	1½ per cent.	2½ per cent.	8½ per cent.

“Proving,” says Mr. Coode, “that expenditure, the number of paupers, and the rate of increase of pauperism, were far the least in the parishes of largest population, intermediate in the parishes of intermediate population, and far the greatest in the parishes of least population.”

It is not worth while to go back so far as this table extends; but all the statistics, in the Appendices of populous (open) and thinly peopled (close) parishes, show that the former were rated far higher than the latter in 1815; and, although the excess has been much reduced of late years, that populous parishes still usually pay the highest poor's rates.

The 100 absolutely largest Parishes in England.

The greater part of the 100 *absolutely largest parishes* lie in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and several of the other northern counties. The district which they comprise is, no doubt, lower rated than any other agricultural district in England. Some have attributed this fact to the circumstance of these “*absolutely largest parishes*” having been divided, for the support of their poor (under the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12), into townships considerably smaller than the average of English parishes. These are among the very parishes described in that Act which, “by reason of their largeness, could not reap the benefit of the 43rd of Elizabeth,” and in which, before their division into townships, pauperism had increased to such a degree as to call for legislative interference.

If any inference then can be drawn from the 100 *absolutely largest parishes*, it is certainly not in favour of very extended areas of rating.

The 100 least Parishes in England.

I have taken a number of them out of the census, and I find that they generally lie in the heart of some ancient town or city. The parishes comprised in the city of Worcester, for example, contain in the whole more than 6,000 acres.

These parishes are all moderately rated for the support of their poor, except two or three of the smallest of them. There are 5 parishes in Worcester which contain respectively 7 acres, 9 acres, 3 acres, 12 acres, and 12 acres, and these 43 acres contained at the census of 1851 no less than 4,721 persons, so that the population is packed into them at the rate of 107 persons per acre. It is not to be wondered at that the smallest of them, St. Alban, should have been compelled to apply frequently for a rate in aid from its neighbours.

In the city of London there is another parish, of the heavy rates of which much has been said and written—the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, which consists solely of 51 houses.

Such exceptional cases prove that areas of 3 acres, 7 acres, 9 acres, or even 12 acres, are too small to support separately their own poor; but they are of no use in deciding the question as to whether unions are to be preferred, as areas of chargeability, to the average size of our parochial boundaries.

There is one radical defect in several of Mr Coode's arguments. The poor's rate is treated in them as if it were a poll tax, while in truth it is a rate wholly levied on real property, and by its pressure upon that alone can it be measured. Any argument based on the expenditure per head on the population is useless, and can, at best, only lead to mystification. For instance, let us suppose a seaport town which pays in two following years precisely the same sum to the poor rates. We count the inhabitants in the first year when the port is empty and the town is in its ordinary state. The amount expended is 20s. per head. On the same day in the following year we again take our census. A regiment has just arrived to embark for foreign service, and the port from contrary winds is quite full of shipping. It is assize time. Justices, jurors, lawyers, and witnesses are all there, the militia are out in the town for training. Navigators are there making new docks, or a new railway station. Building is going on to a large extent, and in fact the number of persons in the town on that day is precisely double that of last year. Mr. Coode may say there is a vast improvement, the poor's rate is now only 10s. per head on the population. The ratepayer knows better, he knows that the sum he pays is precisely the same this year and the last. If the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry had given us the rate in the pound in 1831 of the 100 largest parishes in England, calculated on their rack rental, and shown that it was much less than that paid by the 100 smallest parishes, the argument would have been fairer; but it is possible that as in Mr. Coode's next argument the results at which they arrived might have been completely reversed.

5th. *Argument.*—We now come to Mr. Coode's fifth and last argument.

"But though there be no grounds for the objection, it may be considered that the evidence as to single parishes is not conclusive as to the manner in which the disposal of a common fund might affect an aggregate of parishes. There is not wanting satisfactory evidence also as to this, though the basis of comparison is necessarily narrower.

"There are ten unions for rating in England, which have been established, some at rather remote times, and one at least very recently of large extent, and two containing each only two parishes; all these, with one exception, show a great superiority in economy, as they also do in a comparison of other points of administration over the entire counties in which they are situated."

He then gives us a

"Table of the Expenditure of Ten Unions for Rating compared with the Expenditure of the Ten Counties in which they are respectively situated.

Incorporations and Counties.	Date of Incorporation.	Number of Parishes.	Population in 1831.	Expended for Relief to the Poor, year ended Lady-day 1832.	Rate per head of Expenditure on Population.	Population in 1841.	Expended for Relief to the Poor, year ended Lady-day 1842.	Rate per head of Expenditure on Population.
Bristol.....	1696	20	59,074	£ 26,492	s. d. 8 11½	64,266	£ 18,580	s. d. 5 9½
Gloucestershire..	...	382	387,019	172,562	8 11	431,381	133,306	6 2½
Exeter.....	1697	22	28,242	9,007	6 4½	31,312	7,161	4 7
Devonshire.....	...	472	404,478	225,209	9 1½	533,460	194,192	7 3½
Norwich.....	1712	48	60,505	25,524	8 5½	61,846	20,469	6 7½
Norfolk.....	...	727	300,054	318,413	16 4	412,064	184,114	8 11
Canterbury.....	1727	17	18,640	7,807	11 6½	15,485	5,319	6 10½
Kent.....	...	423	479,155	364,361	15 2½	548,397	206,715	7 6½
Bury St. Edmund's.	1747	2	11,430	7,539	13 8½	12,538	7,110	11 4½
Suffolk.....	...	509	206,317	279,400	18 10½	315,073	138,729	8 9½
Chichester.....	1753	11	8,270	4,965	12 0	8,512	2,576	6 0½
Sussex.....	...	315	272,340	284,687	20 11	299,753	147,427	9 10
Salisbury.....	1770	3	9,838	5,348	11 5½	9,490	4,358	9 2½
Wiltshire.....	...	334	240,156	199,008	16 6½	253,733	137,336	10 7½
Oxford.....	1771	11	16,058	6,398	7 10½	18,154	4,502	5 0½
Oxfordshire.....	...	280	152,156	136,684	17 11½	161,643	78,148	9 8
Southampton.....	1773	6	15,070	5,962	6 4½	27,103	7,136	5 3½
Hampshire.....	...	334	314,230	230,686	14 8½	355,004	140,997	7 11½
Glossop.....	1838	2	9,631	1,202	2 6	14,575	1,381	1 10½
Derbyshire.....	...	310	237,170	81,403	6 10½	272,217	66,972	4 5½
Total of the Incorporations.....	...	137	234,868	100,534	8 6½	268,381	78,661	5 11½
Total of the Counties.....	...	4,092	3,263,125	2,292,593	14 0½	3,568,205	1,431,988	7 11

"If the total expenditure for England and Wales had been reduced in the same proportion as these unions for rating bear to their respective counties, it would have been

"In 1832 4,313,918*l.* instead of 7,036,909*l.* saving 2,722,991*l.* in the year.
1842 3,712,736*l.* " 4,911,408*l.* " 1,198,722*l.* "

This appears to show, that had the poor's rate—strange supposition—been raised by a poll tax, the diminution per head in the counties between 1832 and 1842 would have been from 1*l.* 0*d.* to 7*s.* 11*d.*, or 43 per cent., while in the unions for rating it would

have been from 8s. 6½d. to 5s. 11½d., only 30 per cent., an advantage of 13 per cent. to the counties. Mr. Coode, however, draws from these figures the above extraordinary deductions. Having nearly demolished the poor's rate, Mr. Coode tries his poll tax on the national debt, he says:—"The vast benefit which would have been realized if all England and Wales had been combined in unions for rating, would, during the last century, have exceeded the then amount of the national debt and its interest; and during the present century have exceeded, with interest, two hundred millions of pounds sterling."

These vast benefits and savings vanish into empty space when the common-sense test of the rate in the pound is applied to the counties and incorporations.

Table of the Expenditure of Twelve Unions for Rating, compared with that of the Twelve Counties in which they are respectively situated, for the Year ending March, 1847.

	Rate in the Pound in Counties.		Rate in the Pound in Unions.		Amount assessed to Poor's Rate in 1847.		Paid for Relief of Poor, Year ending March, 1847.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	£	£	£
Gloucester	1	8½	..	..	1,872,007	.. ..	158,310	.. ..
Bristol .....	..	..	2	7	.. ..	219,991	.. ..	28,565
Devonshire	1	11½	..	..	2,022,583	.. ..	196,783	.. ..
Exeter .....	..	..	1	4½	.. ..	119,109	.. ..	8,275
Norfolk	2	2	..	..	1,914,282	.. ..	207,370	.. ..
Norwich .....	..	..	8	4½	.. ..	151,466	.. ..	25,881
Kent	1	9½	..	..	2,340,836	.. ..	208,258	.. ..
Canterbury....	..	..	3	5½	.. ..	47,328	.. ..	2,133
Suffolk	2	2	..	..	1,407,413	.. ..	151,821	.. ..
Bury St. Ed- mund's.... }	..	..	2	1½	.. ..	47,023	.. ..	4,086
Sussex	2	1½	..	..	1,348,701	.. ..	144,881	.. ..
Chichester....	..	..	2	0½	.. ..	27,276	.. ..	2,793
Wiltshire	2	3½	..	..	1,243,902	.. ..	141,133	.. ..
Salisbury .....	..	..	2	5	.. ..	30,621	.. ..	3,685
Oxfordshire	2	5	..	..	718,465	.. ..	87,033	.. ..
Oxford .....	..	..	2	2½	.. ..	71,730	.. ..	7,979
Hampshire	2	2½	..	..	1,406,542	.. ..	156,053	.. ..
Southampton ..	..	..	2	9	.. ..	67,827	.. ..	9,501
Derbyshire	1	0½	..	..	1,043,514	.. ..	54,848	.. ..
Glossop .....	..	..	0	8	.. ..	29,155	.. ..	969
Cheshire	2	4	..	..	1,574,273	.. ..	80,332	.. ..
Chester .....	..	..	2	4	.. ..	57,993	.. ..	9,778
East riding of York	1	2½	..	..	1,208,024	.. ..	47,550	.. ..
Kington-on- Hull..... }	..	..	2	4½	.. ..	139,166	.. ..	15,415
Difference in the Pound in favour of Counties, 8d. }	Average 1	9½	Average 2	5½	18,106,632	998,625	1,634,972	122,400

The Rates in the Pound paid by these Unions for rating *average 87 per cent. more than that paid by the Counties*. If the total expenditure for England and Wales had been increased in the same proportion as the rates in the Pound, paid by these Unions for rating, bear to those paid by their respective Counties, it would have been, in 1847, £7,259,335, instead of £5,298,785—an increase of £1,960,550 in the year.

CHAPTER XV.

4TH. TENDENCY OF DISTRICT OR UNION RATING TO PRODUCE A
CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL AFFAIRS.

A Centralized Administration of the Poor's Rates, and of all Local Affairs, is the certain and immediate consequence of any disturbance of the Parochial Areas of Rating.

One of the witnesses before the Committee of 1847, the Rev. Mr. Rous, appears to me to put matters on their right footing when he says (8612)—“I have never met with any person yet who “was in favour of union settlement, except as a step to a national “measure; a national rating; national relief in fact.”

If we consider the nature and circumstances of the 600 unions that Mr. Coode proposes as the proper substitute for English parishes, it will not appear surprising that he has failed in producing one reasonable argument in support of his theory. Wholly dissimilar as they are in size, circumstance, and population, any line of reasoning that might be adduced in favour of the fitness of one union for the purpose might prove wholly inapplicable to the next. The following examples will show how hopeless is this difference:—

There are in England and Wales,—

	Acres.*
15 unions averaging	165,533 each.
15 ” ”	2,561 ”

There are in England and Wales,—

	Population.*
20 unions averaging	92,508 persons in each.
20 ” ”	3,924 ” ”

With regard to rating, Mr. Pashley extracts the following statement from Mr. G. A. Hutchinson's evidence before the Lords' Committee on Parochial Assessment in 1850: “A list of unions, “six in each, of the six different counties of Gloucester, Lincoln, “Salop, Middlesex, North Riding of York, and Carnarvon, laid “before a Select Committee of the House of Lords, on the

* Parliamentary Return, dated June 3rd, 1850, (moved for by Sir Denham Norreys).

" 6th of June, 1850, gives the following results as to the inequalities in the thirty-six unions then tabulated."

Average Rate in the Pound.	Under 1s.	At 1s., above 1s., and under 2s.	Above 2s. under 3s.	Above 3s., and under 4s.	At 4s.
Number of Unions	14	11	6	4	1

Thus it is clear, that if the plan proposed by Mr. Coope were carried out, no step would be gained towards that uniformity which he thinks so desirable; and although an arbitrary change would have been made in the value of at least nine-tenths of the real property in the kingdom, no approach to a settlement of the question would have been arrived at. In fact another equalization of the burden, and another change in value, quite as extensive and arbitrary, and little less unjust, would have been rendered a matter of certainty.

The unequal distribution of the burden of the poor's rate would remain as apparent, and would be as much complained of as ever, the complainants being then powerful and combined unions, instead of scattered parishes.

In considering the propriety of any further changes in the unions into which the Poor Law Commissioners have divided England, one practical fact is worth a thousand theories. It is then instructive to observe that every alteration in unions, since their formation, that has been forced on the Poor Law Commissioners, or Poor Law Board, by practical experience of their working, has been in the same direction as the alterations that became necessary on so large a scale in Ireland. They have been in every instance reductions or divisions of the original unions. Several of the witnesses before the Committee of 1847, and many who are practically acquainted with the working of the poor law, are of opinion that a further reduction in many of the English unions would be of great advantage both to the ratepayers and the poor.

From the Eleventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners (p. 22), I extract the following passage:—

" We have detached the parishes of Kensington and Paddington from the former Kensington Union, and have placed them under separate boards of guardians; the other two parishes of the union, Fulham and Hammersmith, remain together as the Fulham Union.

" Our attention has likewise been directed to other unions, in different parts of the country, which appeared to be inconveniently

"large, or otherwise to require modification." "We have reason to believe that some of the unions in Lincolnshire in particular contain too large an area, and that the local circumstances will, in several cases, admit of their reduction. The recent continued increase of pauperism in that county has, as it appears to us, been partly caused by the difficulty of inspecting, which arises from the extent of the district placed under the superintendence of a single board of guardians."

Mr. Chadwick, then secretary to the Poor Law Commission, was the ablest exponent of the views of the advocates of union rating before the Committee of 1847. It is to his long and repeated examinations and cross-examinations that we must turn to form our opinion of the ultimate objects of the party he represented. What Mr. Chadwick proposes gradually to introduce, under the name of *union rating*, is the total and entire *abolition of every existing union*. As well as the unions, he proposes to take away the whole administrative authority of the guardians, the representatives of the ratepayers. That authority which Sir James Graham told him (Q. 2049), "which it has been the great object of the Poor Law Amendment Act to establish and uphold." Under the name of union rating, he wishes to abolish *by successive steps* all existing poor law, old as well as new, and to establish an entirely new system in its place.

Mr. Chadwick says (2041), "My own information enables me to say that it would be advantageous to abolish settlement tomorrow, and to *make relief a district charge*," "I say a district charge, because some unions have been formed capriciously under circumstances of temporary expediency." He says (2203), "in remodelling the unions the benefit would be increased by extending the area as far as you can." He thinks (2375), "the unions should be extended to *about quarter county districts*. In the rural districts he would probably unite five, six or eight unions in one."

With regard to the metropolitan unions, (which have been repeatedly divided and reduced in size, since their formation, both by the Poor Law Commissioners and the Poor Law Board, from sheer practical necessity,) he says (2046), "I should not flinch from the recommendation that the management of relief in the metropolis should be placed under one authority."

We have now before us Mr. Chadwick's idea of the sort of districts necessary for carrying out his plan. We have every trace of the present parochial and even union boundaries cleared away; and we have England and Wales arbitrarily divided, for a centralized government, into about 200 districts, resembling in every respect the départements of revolutionary France. It must not however be supposed that Mr. Chadwick intends each of these departments

permanently to maintain its own poor. (2391.) Mr. Chadwick reads a letter, with the opinions expressed, in which he says he concurs, although *he thinks the first step must be taken on the existing averages*, and the results must be gradually arrived at. The letter says,—“I do not see why an equalization” (of poor rates) “may not be made everywhere, when upon due investigation, upon competent authority, the *unfairness* could be clearly proved to exist. I do not see why some equalization of the burden of maintaining the poor throughout the country might not, in certain cases, and at certain periods, upon good cause shown, be made between the unions themselves.”

Mr. Chadwick (2391) allows, that by “*unfairness*” he means simply “*inequality*.”

This evidence leaves no doubt that Mr. Chadwick proposes to equalize the poor's rates throughout the country, since the inequality or “*unfairness*,” as he calls it, could certainly be as easily proved to exist between unions under a union system, as between parishes under the parochial one.

Mr. Chadwick says (2117), that he thinks a national rate would be dangerous, as it would be “exposed to extensive and powerful *public clamour*.” “I cannot but see and believe that *in the present state of things*, a national rate would be attended with great danger.”

How long Mr. Chadwick would allow “*this present state of things*” to last it is difficult to say; but it is absurd to suppose that the abolition of settlement, attended by an extension of the area of rating to quarter county districts, combined with the proposition that all inequality of rating is “unfair,” and that “some equalization of the burden of maintaining the poor throughout the country” ought to take place even between these quarter county unions, whenever “inequality” can be shown to exist, can mean any thing but the most rapid approach to a national administration of local rates that “public clamour” will permit.

It is therefore quite clear that the quarter county districts are only meant as departments for the convenience of a centralized administration of local government, and are not intended to remain as separate areas of chargeability and rating.

Mr. Chadwick makes no secret of his dislike to the guardians and other unpaid local authorities. He says:—

(Q. 2049.) “I have never recommended or relied upon any thing but a staff of responsible paid officers. I believe you might get officers of a higher character, and increase the responsibility, and diminish the danger of abuse by increasing the staff. I believe that there is no expense more serious than the expense of irresponsible administration. My belief is that the cost of the

"irresponsible local administration is, at this time, full a million a year to the country, upon the five millions of poor rates, without any corresponding advantages in respect to the administration of relief itself." He proposes to vest the whole administration in paid officers. He says (A. 2116), "You would get more responsibility and greater attention; you would get more knowledge; you would get better action; and altogether you would greatly improve the administration of relief, in proportion as you threw the initiation of it upon properly qualified, paid, responsible officers. At the same time I should say that for machinery of that kind you would want, frequently, more discretion; I mean a higher order of officers, to avoid the blunders into which ignorant and incapable men have fallen from time to time; but it would frequently be well worth while to pay for a higher order of officers."

He says (A. 2118), That he would still allow the guardians—if guardians could be found—to meet perhaps once a month "to *superwise* rather than to initiate." After taking the whole power from them, and placing it in the hands of his own people, he would still kindly allow the representatives of the ratepayers the privilege of meeting to inspect the books, and to see what he had done with their money, and how he had treated their poor neighbours. But he would allow of no interference with *his discretion* and that of his nominees.

This would not be a more tyrannical and fundamental breaking up of the long-established English system of representative government, than if Her Majesty's ministers were empowered to make and enforce any laws they pleased, leaving the House of Commons, as representatives of the people, the power of meeting from time to time, at long intervals, to *superwise*, but on no account to interfere with their proceedings.

Mr. Chadwick has now laid down a definite plan for future poor-law legislation:—

- 1st. Destroy parochial self-government.
- 2nd. Abolish all local unpaid officers.
- 3rd. Divide England into extended districts for the convenience of central administration.
- 4th. Place the whole administration in the hands of paid officials.
- 5th. Equalize, by gradual steps, the poor's rate over the whole country.

This dominant central authority was not to be proposed at once. The first step was to be union chargeability, with contributions on the present parochial averages. It was to be cautiously

introduced, step by step, "with reference to the state of public opinion, and the views of parties interested, prevailing in the country."

Ignatius Loyola himself did not lay down a more subtle scheme for the attainment of wealth and power by his order, than did the astute secretary to the Poor Law Commission for the establishment of a dominant bureaucracy.

WHAT IS THE BILL RECENTLY INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT,
IF IT BE NOT A FIRST INSTALMENT OF MR. CHADWICK'S
SCHEME?

I cannot conclude this subject without mentioning that Sir Josiah Child, in his *New Discourse on Trade*, published in 1669, asserts, that the radical error of our poor law is the leaving it to the care of every parish to maintain their own poor only. He proposes that the poor should be managed by seventy *Commissioners*, to be entitled *Fathers of the Poor*. They were to be entrusted with very enlarged magisterial authority, and to have the power of assessing every parish, and putting the proceeds into their common treasury.

Upon this plan Sir Frederic Eden (p. 188) makes the following remarks:—

"*Poor's rates of ten millions a year would be less intolerable than seventy municipal despots, for such I conceive his 'seventy fathers of the poor' would have been, (as much as the seventy tyrants of Athens)*. He also says, "*I trust if any future political projector should hereafter recommend the converting of parochial administration into inquisitorial police, that his advice will be equally unsuccessful.*"

*Tendency of Union Rating to produce a National Rate in the
Case of Norwich, &c.*

There is fortunately in one of the Reports that we have been considering some evidence which bears precisely on this point. From Mr. a'Beckett's account of the Norwich Union, consisting of forty-three parishes, long united by a local Act for settling and rating, we obtain another most convincing proof of the failure of the system of union rating, as well as of its certain tendency to produce a national rate.

We will take Mr. a'Beckett's own words:—

"The case of Norwich is one of those which presents, in my opinion, the chief if not the only difficulty in coming to a satisfactory adjustment of the questions of rating, removal and settlement. *Scarcely any thing short of a national rate* would relieve Norwich from the enormous pressure of the burden of the poor, who amounted last summer to 10,000 in number out of a popula-

"tion of 60,000, and who are not maintained at a less cost than £50,000 to the city and those closely adjoining parishes which form the union.

"The vast quantity of poverty existing in Norwich may be attributed in some degree to the decline of the manufactures, by which great numbers of the population have been thrown out of employ."

Again he says:—"The subject of rating is beset with difficulty as far as Norwich is concerned, *for its parishes are already united for the support of the poor, and whatever advantages are to be derived from the union system, it is now in the possession of.* This system is found to be wholly inadequate as a remedy for the evils of which Norwich complains, and it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the ratepayers should *look to a national rate as their only hope of deliverance* from the very heavy burden under which they are suffering."

Mr. Hotson, a gentleman in the employment of the Poor Law Commission, whose evidence before the Committee of 1847 was strongly in favour of Mr. Chadwick's plan, pointed particularly to Norwich as an example of a union in which the system proposed to be made general had been fully tried.

He omitted, however, to say, that in no union in England is pauperism more rife, rates more oppressive, and discontent more universal than in Norwich, where this supposed panacea for all evils had been for nearly a century and a half in full operation.

During the latter end of the last century, before the great rise in the poor rates took place, it was known as one of the most pauperized places in England, and during the thirteen years ending 1796 its poor rates averaged £19,270* per annum.

It is more than probable that if the local Act which united these forty-three parishes were repealed, the pauperism which has so long oppressed Norwich would be mitigated. The great increase of local and individual interest, which would be called into action, would certainly produce great general benefit, although the rates in some of the parishes might be permanently and perhaps unfairly increased thereby.

Mr. a'Beckett next visits Great Yarmouth;† he says of this union,—“The circumstances of Great Yarmouth resemble those of Norwich, though the evils complained of in the latter place exist in a very mitigated degree, but still to a sufficient extent to create great dissatisfaction among the ratepayers.”

At a meeting of the Board of Guardians, it was resolved unani-

* Eden.

† Great Yarmouth is a single parish, but so populous as to be equivalent to a union for rating.

mously, "That the existing laws of settlement and removal, and "also the laws relating to the making and levying poor rates, "are unfair, unequal, inexpedient, and indefensible, and ought to be "abolished. That in the opinion of this board a *national rate* is essentially necessary, and ought to be conceded by the legislature." Mr. a'Beckett candidly states after his visit to Norwich, that the union system is wholly inadequate to meet a pressure on the rates; that "scarcely any thing but a national rate" can relieve a union placed under its deleterious influence, and that even at Yarmouth, without the mass of pauperism which presses so heavy on Norwich, it produces "evils sufficient to create great dissatisfaction among the ratepayers." In one point, however, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Mr. a'Beckett and common sense, seem all to agree, viz. that an equal union rating once adopted, a still more extended area of rating becomes an immediate and an indispensable necessity. If the unequal pressure of the burden of the poor rates on adjoining parishes be an injustice which requires a legislative remedy, nothing can prevent the application of the same remedy to unions similarly situated, when you shall have brought them to the position of mere large parishes. The principle of equalization once admitted, it will be in vain to endeavour to convince the ratepayers of Norwich that they ought to pay seven shillings* in the pound, while an adjoining union is perhaps paying only a quarter of that amount. The difficulties and difference of opinion, which respect for the rights of property, combined with the varied interests of the different parishes, occasion, whenever the Boards of Guardians are pressed to pass a resolution on the subject of rating, disappear at Yarmouth and Norwich, and the boards become unanimous in their attack upon the public resources. Until now, Boards of Guardians have been powerless for any combined external action. Each union has been at peace with its neighbours. But let union rating once become the law, and the Board of Guardians of every populous town (with parliamentary representation) will become a combined, steadfast and determined advocate of a national rate, which neighbouring unions, less powerful, less populous, and not so fully represented, will not long be able to resist.

* On rateable, not real value.

CHAPTER XVI.

5TH. ON THE ENORMOUS CONFISCATION OF REAL PROPERTY
THAT WOULD BE OCCASIONED BY UNION RATING.

The whole subject of rating is in the long run a question of property, and upon property any loss caused by a change must ultimately rest. For several years however the chief loss would undoubtedly be borne by the tenants, as they could not expect that an alteration in the rates would bring about an immediate re-adjustment of rents.

What then will be the effect of union rating on the proprietor, large or small, of lands or houses? The system of parochial rating for the support of the parochial poor, as established by the 39th and 43rd of Elizabeth, has formed for more than 250 years an intrinsic part of the titles of real property in England. Like the tithe, it has been a main consideration in every purchase, in every settlement, in every lease, in every legacy, in every annuity; in every one of the many thousand transactions based upon the security of land or houses, which have been taking place weekly in this island for two centuries and a half. It is no light thing to interfere, in an experimental mood, with the rights and the titles of every holder of real property throughout the kingdom. Nothing short of the national safety, unattainable by less violent means, could possibly excuse such flagrant injustice as would be perpetrated by equal union rating. If the rates of a parish be raised 2s. 6d. in the pound by union rating, it is clear that the marketable value of the whole of the real property contained in it will be thereby reduced one-eighth in value. The effect of it would then very frequently be, absolutely to confiscate without reason or remorse often one-eighth or one-tenth of the whole property in one parish, in order to give it, without any just or even assignable reason, to the proprietors of some other parish. The whole crime, for which proprietors of the first parish are to be mulcted, would frequently be, that by great care and attention for a series of years to the welfare of their poor,—by providing them with work in winter, by charitably guaranteed societies for clothing, for fuel, and for medical aid; by plans for enabling the wife and daughters to add their little earnings to the scanty family pittance; by careful superintendence and timely aid in the hours of adversity,—this parish has reduced its rates to a minimum, while the well-being and comfort of its poorer population have attained a maximum amount. The proprietors of the second parish might have established a claim (in the opinion of the advocates of union

rating) to the confiscated property, by their wilful and determined neglect of the poor of their parish, and by their having perhaps perpetuated among them all the abuses and all the consequent pauperism of 1830. If union rating were established, and the rates of the first parish were raised only 2s. in the pound, that parish would be decimated, and would hand over, in effect, one house in ten, and one acre in ten, as a reward for the misconduct of the second.

Let us next suppose a case of two young men inheriting in neighbouring parishes estates worth, after deducting out-goings, £8,000 each. In Smith's parish the rates are low, in Jones's they are high—equal union rating is established, and the rates in Smith's parish are thereby increased 2s. 6d. in the pound, while a similar deduction takes place in the rates on Jones's property, and, *hocus pocus*, Smith finds, to his astonishment, that he is worth but £7,000, while Jones's property has become by the same transaction worth £9,000. In other words, Smith's £1,000 has been confiscated by the wisdom of Parliament and given to Jones, for no assignable reason, unless it be to try again an experiment which has been shown to have failed signally whenever it has been tried, both in olden times and in our own days. And yet Smith's father, when he invested with pride the earnings and savings of a long life of trial and privation in this small landed property for his son, did so in the full confidence that the title to it was founded on the long established laws of England, in confidence that by the Parliament of Great Britain the rights of property in this realm would be maintained, and that his son would not be plundered of his hardly earned gains for the benefit of a stranger, or for the satisfaction of some who may wish to try a few interesting experiments in the art of government. Such might well be tried under an absolutism, but not with impunity. The confidence of a nation must be shaken in rulers experimentalizing on the titles of men's estates, and the selling value of every acre of land in the country deteriorated. Under our representative system how could the member, whom Smith has helped to return as representative of his interest in Parliament, justify the vote which would have struck away at once below a large portion of his constituent's property?

I must here quote Mr. Pashley's opinion of the effects of union rating; he says, (p. 330): "In some unions the effect would be to increase the rate on some of the parishes to an amount many times greater than that which such parishes had previously paid; it would in many unions raise the rate on parishes, which have heretofore maintained their poor at an expense of less than half the average of the burden throughout England, to double the amount of that average. It seems to me that a sufficient ground

"for rejecting such a proposal is found in the fact that in many of the districts which it would subject to an entirely new burden, the rates would be thus increased from an amount much below, to an amount greatly exceeding the average rate of the whole country. This test may justly be considered as decisive against the adoption of the union area of taxation."

Again (p. 336), he says: "Powerless for good, as the substituted (union) system would be, in various important classes of cases of existing inequality and hardship, it would, nevertheless, in another class of cases (equally entitled to consideration in any alteration of the law) be irresistible for evil, in producing sudden, violent, and wholly unnecessary disturbance of actual burdens. The change would, in truth, overturn and confound all existing rights and duties attached to the possession of property in respect of parochial rates, and would do this, too, with a rudeness and injustice so gross and unendurable, that, as is admitted by an apologist of the project, it would be requisite for some of the existing unions to be entirely reconstructed (remodelled) before they could endure the shock of so sudden and violent an attack and devastation."

Mr. Coode, himself, allows (p. 189) that union rating, "if effected at once, would involve a sudden and violent increase of burden in many of the smaller parishes, without equivalent advantage to any." A plan, which has been adopted in the bill recently introduced into Parliament, is, however, proposed by him and some other authorities for rendering the change unobjectionable. Of course, the reader will at once exclaim, "They have some well digested plan of compensation to propose! We can do nothing in England without compensation; thank God, we live in a free land! No private property has ever yet been taken from a British subject, for public purposes, without its full value being awarded to him! The holders of black slaves received twenty millions for compensation! Even the Palace Court lawyers were allotted compensation! No Chancery abuse which has festered for centuries in the withers of the nation can be rooted out without compensation being granted to those who are in receipt of its time-honoured, but unhallowed profits! Even in doubtful cases the British Parliament has always preferred to stretch a point on the side of liberality! The largest and richest city in the world must be content with dear and muddy water, until some happy plan for compensating existing water companies for sums spent in parliamentary litigation can be agreed on? No one can venture to hint at an interference with the rights and titles of the whole real property of the nation without granting that compensation which is thought indispensable in cases like these. The advocates of union

rating have no doubt some well-digested plan of compensation to propose. The parishes that gain will, by some simple process, make good the amount to the losers. All will be right enough when the plan comes out! The old English plan of compensation!"

But what will be the surprise of the reader when he finds that this old English principle is here to be discarded, and a foreign plan substituted in its stead?—the very plan adopted in the old nursery tale of the Frenchman's horse: This animal was to be taught to live on a straw a day, and the plan by which this object was to be attained, was by reducing so gradually the quantity of his food that the horse would not be aware of it. Yes, it is by this same precious plan that the English nation are to be reconciled to the confiscation of lands and houses to the amount of uncalculated millions. It is proposed to palliate the injustice by extending it over a series of years. Mr. Coode says (p. 137): "The attainment of the last stage might be postponed to any time thought *prudent*, 7, 10, 20, "100 years, if thought *proper*." Why make this distinction, Mr. Coode, between thought prudent, and thought proper? If it were proper to do it at all, it would not be imprudent to do it at once. 1,000 years is not too long to postpone the perpetration of a gross injustice.

Let us see what would be the effect on property if this principle were adopted, and if the rates within a union were to be equalized in 10 years.

Take a man with a property of 800 acres. His rates are to be increased 2s. 6d. in the pound. The victim cries out, and no wonder, that they are going to take 100 acres of his land away from him. "Do not complain," says Mr. Coode, "we have no thoughts "of doing so—this would be '*an arbitrary interference with existing arrangements*'—we will not do this; but I'll tell you "how we will manage it, we will take a 10-acre field from you "every year for the next ten years, and I am sure you cannot "grumble at that."

The confiscations that followed the battle of Culloden were trivial compared with the immense mass of real property that would at once change hands if this violent and unjust measure were to pass. The sufferers in the former case were rebels; in this instance the blow would fall most heavily on holders of land and houses in the most charitable and best-managed parishes in England.

CHAPTER XVII.

NATIONAL RATING.

There is a wide difference between *national rating* and a *central administration of local rates*. The first plan may be supported by many powerful arguments. The latter would be an intolerable and unmitigated oppression. It is to the latter system that union rating must immediately hurry us. A plan for national rating was brought forward before the Committees of both Houses, by Mr. Coppock, clerk of the Stockport Union, on behalf of a society composed of the clerks of the unions in the manufacturing district of which Manchester is the centre. This includes great part of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, and contains a population of 2,000,000 souls.

It appears that these gentlemen have been in the habit of meeting several times in the year to consider and discuss questions of poor-law legislation.

Their plan, as might be expected, is complete in itself; it is thoroughly intelligible, it is capable of being supported by powerful arguments, and if it *were successful*, it would accomplish a thorough settlement of the question.

They begin boldly and openly, by the proposals—

- 1st. That the law of settlement be wholly abolished.
- 2nd. That all poor rates be wholly abolished.
- 3rd. That all county and parochial officers, including guardians, be wholly abolished.

Having thus a clear field before them, the new plan proposed to be introduced is as follows:—

That all persons requiring relief, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, be supported upon one uniform system, out of the consolidated fund.

That the whole poor-law administration be vested in the government, and conducted by a branch of the Home Office to be devoted to that purpose, with a responsible head in the House of Commons.

That all patronage connected with the administration of the poor laws be vested in the government.

That the country be divided into districts of at least five unions each, a stipendiary chairman, with plenary powers, to be appointed to every district; under him in each union a clerk, relieving officers, governor, surgeons, taskmaster, schoolmaster, nurse and porter.

That all county rates, bridges, and roads, and other matters that come out of the poor rates—including, I presume, the police—be placed under the same management.

This plan once carried, and the local self-government of England, which has survived revolutions, wars, and changes of dynasty, is gone, and for ever. The dominant centralization of France, Austria, and Prussia, must henceforth be omnipotent in England.

The very similar system at which Mr. Chadwick proposes to arrive by successive steps (p. 98), beginning by what he calls union rating and settlement, is open to every objection that can be urged against the one we are now considering. Mr. Coppock's plan has many redeeming points.

1st. Mr. Coppock proposes to abolish the present poor's rate, and to make the relief of the poor a national charge, while the union rating plan would continue all the local burdens, as at present, on real property alone, at the same time that they would destroy all local control over the expenditure.

2nd. Mr. Coppock proposes to abolish the whole of the law expenses and professional charges attendant on county, borough, and parochial valuations, and the appeals therefrom; and to relieve the local ratepayers of the cost of a number of county, union and parochial paid officers, as well as of the cost of collecting the various rates—all of which, under Mr. Chadwick's plan, would be left untouched.

3rd. Mr. Coppock does not propose to mock the guardians by permitting them to meet at long intervals *to supervise*, after he has taken from them all control over the expenditure of their rates, and all power of relieving the poor of the parishes they represent.

Mr. Chadwick's plan, to which union rating is the first and certain step, is open to every possible objection that can be urged against that we are now considering, without offering any one of its advantages. One party proposes openly to introduce centralization; the other, to smuggle it in, by successive but certain steps, under another name. The eventual difference would be that Mr. Coppock would make the poor a "*national charge*," while the union rating plan will lead to a "*centralized administration of local rates*," both plans alike, by destroying the parochial system of self-government, strike at the real source of British independence and British freedom.

Some of the evils of a national rating are so ably handled by Mr. G. C. Lewis, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee on parochial assessments, in 1850, that I cannot refrain from quoting the following passages :—

"There are certain subjects in which unquestionably local management is preferable to national management; and the advantages of local management, as compared with national management, may be so great as to outweigh the inconveniences arising from the exclusive incidence of the tax upon real property. The relief of the poor appears to me to furnish one very remarkable example of that state of things, particularly the current relief of destitution, as it arises in every parish.

" Where the tax is a local one, and the expenditure is managed
 " by the ratepayers, there is an obvious interest in keeping down
 " the expenditure; but where the tax is a general one, the share
 " which each locality contributes to that tax is so impalpable, that
 " the interest of the locality is to obtain as large a sum as the trea-
 " sury will grant them, in comparison with other localities; at all
 " events, they say, 'if such a parish obtained such a sum, it is not
 " 'fair that we should not obtain an equal sum.' All classes of the
 " community concur in that intent. In the first place, there is the
 " pauper class, who naturally seek to obtain as much as they can—
 " whether from the treasury or the local ratepayers. The middle
 " classes would join in promoting any appropriation of money which
 " would have the effect of paying the wages of their labourers out of
 " the national treasury; the shopkeepers would also concur in an
 " application for a grant which would increase the custom at their
 " shops; and the higher classes of society, landlords, and persons of
 " that description, if they found that any grant was likely to be
 " made which would facilitate the payment of rents or tithe, or any
 " other payment due to them, would certainly not be backward in
 " enforcing the application;—therefore, there is an interest in every
 " locality in obtaining as large a share of the national charity as
 " possible; and wherever that experiment has been tried on a large
 " scale, its effects have been shown in *so very decisive*, and in *so*
 " *very immediate* a manner, that the experiment *has not been of very*
 " *long duration*; and, therefore, we have *not the experience of many*
 " *years* in any case to refer to. But it cannot be doubted that such
 " a system would lead to an enormous increase of the burden of
 " maintaining the poor; and that it would ultimately impose upon
 " all the local inhabitants a much larger sum in the shape of national
 " taxation than they would otherwise pay in the shape of poor rates;
 " moreover, it would lead to a most extensive demoralization of the
 " working classes; it would go very far to disorganize society, and
 " to disturb all those relations between the working and the other
 " classes of society, upon which internal peace and good order rest.

" I allude to such a system as was pursued in Ireland under the
 " Temporary Relief Act, and such a system as was pursued for a
 " short time in Paris in the national workshops under the revolu-
 " tionary government."

Speaking of the proposal to make the affairs now subjected to local
 control a national charge, Mr. Lewis says:—

" If the building of prisons, if the maintenance of police, and
 " roads and churches, were made a national charge, there would in-
 " stantly be a claim from every part of the country to be treated
 " with as much liberality as all the other parts; that is found in fact
 " to be the case when the custom of defraying such expenses out of
 " the central treasury is pursued. I met lately, in a French work,

“ with an extract from a speech of M. Thiers, which, as it illustrates
 “ this point, perhaps the Committee will allow me to read.

“ In a speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th of
 “ March, 1841, M. Thiers said :

“ Our institutions are so formed that, in order to procure a vote
 “ for a canal in the south, it is necessary to present one for the
 “ north ; that, in order to obtain a road for one canton, it is neces-
 “ sary to propose one for another canton.”

“ Monsieur Dunoyer, author of a work called ‘ De la Liberté du
 “ Travail,’ cites this passage (vol. i. p. 315), and makes upon it the
 “ following remark :—‘ These works being executed at the common
 “ cost, every one wishes to have his fair share of them.’

“ Such is found to be the practical operation of this system with
 “ respect to roads and other public works in France ; it is a principle
 “ which, it is clear, would operate in every country in which the same
 “ system was introduced, and therefore it behoves those who propose
 “ any transfer of local expenses to the national treasury to consider
 “ what will be the consequence of making the expenditure for that
 “ purpose uniform throughout the country. One of the objections to
 “ a system of local taxation and local management is its want of uni-
 “ formity. This is a valid objection up to a certain point. *Those*
 “ *persons who object to local management have very little difficulty in*
 “ *pointing out the inconsistencies and inconveniences and injustice which*
 “ *arise from a want of uniformity.* On the other hand, there is this
 “ countervailing advantage in the want of uniformity, that it prevents
 “ all the lowly taxed districts from being raised up to the highest
 “ level ; it enables those districts, in which they content themselves
 “ with more modest institutions and establishments, to remain at the
 “ degree of efficiency which is adequate to their wants.”

A centralized administration of local rates would produce every
 one of the evils so ably exposed by Mr. Lewis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

The most important European problem of the present day is how to check the march of communism and to promote the welfare and contentment of the labouring classes. If their reasonable claims are denied them, there can be no security for property and no stability in government.

Education is of the utmost value, if it be accompanied by justice; but if education is given only to show the poor that those rights that the wisdom of our ancestors accorded to them are taken away; if they are to open their eyes only to witness a successful struggle of property to throw off the burden which the proper maintenance of the old, the infirm, and the unfortunate has imposed upon it, it would be more prudent to let them remain in darkness. The feudal system awards, even to the Russian boor, a forced subsistence when he cannot maintain himself. Modern political economy would treat the labouring masses like machines, and far worse than we treat our cattle. Such political economy is the nurse of communism;—it is antagonistic to civilization. The heads of the working men of England can rise, and do often rise, to rank among our merchant princes and manufacturing magnates. None of that weight of ancient custom, that oppresses the people of a great part of Europe, keeps them down. In every town and county we see, among our leading men, those whose proud boast it is that they are the first of their families who have risen to wealth and position; we see peers and prime ministers springing from such stock. But let them not forget the condition of the yet struggling masses.

There are but two ways of managing such masses. A government must either be prepared to feed them in an hour of emergency or to shoot them down. The tranquillity and content which England has enjoyed for many years has arisen mainly from her having adopted the former plan. A comparison between it and the contrary system—as it has been practised in France and Ireland—has already been drawn. Under the feeding system our country has been self-governed. Every man's hand has been for the law. The moment you modify that system—the moment you strike the long threatened blow at the poor man's settlement, at that law which has for 200 years been the title deed of his right to “a subsistence, or the means of procuring it”—that moment you will be obliged, by the establishment of a *national repressive police*, to place yourself in a position to adopt the other alternative. You must provide yourself with a force resembling the

"gendarmes" of France and Austria, and the police of Ireland, to coerce, in case of emergency, those you will have driven to revolt.

The political economist would teach the lower classes thrift and prudence by the hard experience of want and misery. Let our lords, and dukes, and noble princes, our prime ministers and archbishops, first devise some means for teaching thrift and prudence to their own offspring, and let them then try similar measures on the poor. But let them not forget that "*the misfortune or imprudence which lets a rich man down upon a lower condition, lets one who is in the lowest already down upon death!*" Examples of want and misery can, alas, never be wanting to incite others to thrift and prudence. If that most important problem of the condition and welfare of the labouring masses is to be successfully solved in England, it can only be by the well-considered extension of such measures as Lord Shaftesbury has long advocated. There are not wanting English writers of talent and power who have already taken up the communistic cry against property. Let property defend itself by consulting the material interests and well-being of the labouring classes. It has no other defence that will check the march of socialism, discontent and latent rebellion.

With regard to the bill now before Parliament for the abolition of the power of removal, and the establishment of district rating, I believe it to be thoroughly wrong both in its principles and its objects. It is not the plan of the government—it is not Mr. Baines's plan—it is not the plan of the Poor Law Board. It is a legacy left them by more grasping and less scrupulous predecessors. It is a plan proposed by Mr. Secretary Chadwick of the old poor law commission, embodied by Mr. Assistant Secretary Coode. A plan that has been lying for years in some musty corner of Somerset or Gwydir House, and is now only raked out and laid on the table of the House, in fulfilment of a promise made by the government in the course of the last session, to gentlemen, whose object, like that of the framers of the measure, is to bring about a national administration of local rates under a central authority.

I maintain that every argument that has been brought forward in support of this bill has broken down. The following arguments have been disproved:—

1st. The charge of clearance and driving out the poor, in what are called close parishes. (Part I. p. 41.)

2nd. That such close parishes have been enriched at the expense of the open ones in their vicinity. (Part I. p. 43.)

3rd. That they have shifted the burden of their poor on these open parishes. (Part I. p. 45.)

4th. That an undue and increasing proportion of agricultural labourers is being driven into the towns. (Part I. p. 51.)

5th. That the distance at which the labourer resides from his work is produced by the parochial system. (Part I. p. 52.)

6th. That inequality of rating between two parishes is "unfair" to that which pays the highest rates. (Part I. p. 55.)

7th. That the labour market in England is restricted by settlement, so far as affects the supply of labour—where labour is required, "The manufacturing places do get all the hands they want." (Part I. p. 59.)

8th. That there is any longer a congestion of people in the agricultural districts of England caused by settlement. (Part I. p. 59.)

9th. That it is the intention of the party who press for the abolition of settlement and removal to benefit the poor thereby. (Part II. p. 40.)

10th. That hardship and severity in the administration of relief are beneficial to the poor. (Part II. p. 61.)

With regard to district or union rating, it has been shown:—

11th. That no such plan has ever yet been known to succeed. (Part II. p. 73.)

12th. That it has been repeatedly tried, and has invariably and signally failed. (Part II. p. 73.)

13th. For that it is contrary to the natural principles on which a poor law should be founded. (Part II. p. 73.)

14th. That it was under such a system that clearances reached their greatest height in England. (Part II. p. 73.)

15th. That its adoption would destroy our parochial self-government, and with it the freedom and energy of the people. (Part II. p. 94.)

16th. That it would throw the local government of England into the hands of an odious "bureaucracy." (Part II. p. 98.)

17th. That it would pauperize and throw on the rates a multitude of persons now earning sufficient wages to maintain themselves and their families. (Part II. p. 40.)

18th. That it would thereby increase, to a frightful extent, pauperism, misery, and poor's rates. (Part II. pp. 40, 52.)

19th. That it would render necessary the establishment of a national repressive police to coerce the victims, which it would itself have reduced to pauperism. (Part II. p. 71.)

20th. That it would confiscate lands and houses to an extent at present uncalculated, unsettle the titles, and change the value of nine-tenths of the real property in the kingdom. (Part II. p. 102.)

21st. It has been shown that without settlement a right to relief proved inoperative; and that settlement is the real foundation of our English poor law. (Part II. p. 26.)

22nd. That removals, which this bill professes to stop, have decreased by two-thirds during the last eleven years, and are rapidly on the wane. (Part II. p. 57.)

The measure itself is an act of barefaced aggression on the principle of local self-government in small communities. It rings the death knell of English county and parochial government.

The central government of England has from time immemorial

contented itself with laying down for the public good certain broad lines, between which the nation might carry on its own local government, according to the means and wishes of its inhabitants. To this long-cherished and most salutary system Mr. Baines's bill rings the death knell.

It is a first step in the plan laid down by Mr. Chadwick, in his evidence before the committee of 1847. The last stage of that plan, to be arrived at by gradual steps, is to be a dominant and overbearing "bureaucracy," the introduction into England of the domestic institutions of France or of Austria. It is tempting to a minister to introduce such a system, for it would invest him with patronage unlimited. To the independence of the higher and middle classes it would be fatal; to the poor it would bring unmitigated hardship and distress. Despotism would grind the country from above; chartism and communism would sap away its foundations; content and liberty would be unknown. They would destroy the settlement of the poor, which has so long shielded them from the power of their superiors, and (as Mr. Cooce allows) from the rigour of a code of cruel vagrancy laws. These they would re-introduce, invested with redoubled terrors.

This hitherto quiet and contented land is to be girded with the iron band of a centralized police, the sure harbinger and the ready arm of despotism.

All this is attempted to be forced upon us, not as a violent remedy for some violent and impending danger, but while the ship is steering her even course through a tranquil sea, without a shoal ahead, or a cloud in sight. Are the crew asleep?—they seem not to know or heed the fearful changes that are preparing for them.

Their boasted equalization of rates consists in urging one-half of the English nation to the spoil of their neighbours. Can any so base be found among us who, for a few paltry shillings of ill-gotten gain, would barter the independence of their children and their country? Awake, Englishmen! while there is yet time. The wedge once driven under the foundation stone of your liberty—your parochial self-government;—the meshes of centralization once woven around the land, and your struggles will be in vain. You will have squandered away the best inheritance of your fathers, and the days of your freedom will be numbered.

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